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GARCON SERIES

MAHATMA GANDHI

The Great Rogue of India?

BY
GOVIND DASS CONSUL

FIRST EDITION
GANDHI JAYANTI



'GARCON'
National Publishers
Burn Bastion Road, Delhi.
1939.

Price Rupees Two.

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Books Obtainable

From

MODEL PRESS

Burn Bastion Road,

DELHI.

CAXTON PRESS

Connaught Circus,

NEW DELHI.

Kalyan Karak Co., (Regd.)

CHANDNI CHOWK,

DELHI.

TO

MOHANDAS KARAM CHAND GANDHI

THE

APOSTLE of TRUTH

AND

SPONSOR of AHIMSA

WITH THE

Most profound feelings of love

and veneration

BY

GOBIND DAS CONSUL.

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The attention of the critics and the readers is invited to the Errata given at the end of the book for reference.

Errors of spelling and mistakes of omission were liable to be made due to the hurry with which the work of printing was rushed through to enable the book to be ready for presentation to the Mahatma on his Jayanti day.

It is requested that the critics and the readers will deal the publishers charitably for the inconvenience thus caused to them.

Publishers.

MODEL PRESS, DELHI.



MAHATMA GANDHI

APOLOGY

Our apology is due to Mahatma Gandhi and the general reader for the delinquent oddity of the title of the book.

The epithets of 'Mahatma' and the 'Great Rogue of India' prefixed and suffixed to the name of the Sage of Segaon, standing as they do in a queer contrast, provide an unhappy antithesis.

It should be no wonder, if the antithetical nature of the epithets, the prefix attributive of the saintliness of the great personage, and the suffix derogatory to the greatness of his personality and character, touch the susceptibility of his personal feeling and incense the sensitivity of his compatriots with the seeming impudence of the indecent vulgarism and phenomenal effrontery of the inartistic nomenclature of the title.

We know from his personal authority that he takes the title of 'Mahatma' unwillingly and with a pinch of conscience. We have, yet, to know how he relishes the 'Great Rogue of India' epithet with its implied pun and the note of interrogation.

However, it is the implicit faith of our apologetic submissiveness in the saintly humour characteristic of the great personage that the seemingly vulgar yet mightily affectionate appellation shall be looked askance by him with the passage of the happy ripples of a wrinkled smile.

The interrogatory nature of the title should be a sufficient mitigation of the guilt, to appease the offended sentiment of the compatriots of the 'Mahatma', in as much as the bold mark of interrogation, against which the title is set, is a specific pointer to the unconfirmed signification of the suffix part of the title.

Moreover, the title offers a clue to the significant contents of the book that aim at the clarification of a controversial issue that calls in question the ethical and spiritual individuality of his politics and statesmanship with regard ro the reactionary nature of his confession of coercion in his Delhi statement in connection with the recent Rajkot political agitation.

It should be no little roguish offence on our part to the 'Great Rogue of India', if, with the aid of the pristine purity of his principles and code of conduct, we did not crystalise the questionable controversy to absolve Mahatma Gandhi from ascription of immoral motives and methods of the modern political opportunists and expedient diplomats.

We earnestly hope and pray that the littleness of the title, to which this is an humble apology, shall not sully the greatness of the Apostle of Truth and *Ahimsa*.

G. D. CONSUL.

FOREWORD

It is the piquancy of certain reflections about the personality of Mahatma Gandhi that has called for the presentation of these pages.

The avowal of his mistake, the implied coercion in his confession, his invitation to the paramount power for interference, and the eventual surrender of the political advantages of the Gwyer award, in connection with the political agitation in Rajkot, have been referred to his capricious reactionarism by not too insignificant political opinion in the country.

The orientation of a new technique of *Ahimsa*, allusion to which has been made by Mahatma in his statement has led to discussion among the critics who have failed to find with their best effort the soft subtlety of his humaneness.

Moreover, it is our unhappy testimony to refer to

the obliquity of his adversaries, the scepticism of his admirers, and the lassitude of the general critic, with which they take stock of the epoch making events and the life principles of the great personage.

In a club conversation, with reference to the Rajkot confession of Mahatma Gandhi, it was a brain-fagged discussion of two petty-fogging politicians that called forth the following queer epigrammatic remarks:—

"I am losing faith in the old rogue and his roguery. Can his step-back always mean a march forward?" asked one of the demagogues with an unintelligent look of scepticism. "Oh! As sure as death. You can depend upon the great rogue and his roguery that works on the prinicple that it needs a rogue to know a rogue. Can't you see that he can dominate from a distance not only his herd, but also the white rogues of the bureaucracy?" counter-queried the other with an air of assertive confidence.

The indecent phraseology and petty-fogging pleasantry of the above remarks may be excused as a light-hearted talk between individuals, but the forceful suggestiveness of its reflections, as a reflex of adverse public opinion about the great personage and his political and religious faith, can, hardly, be overlooked without a convincing counterblast—our assumption being, that the reference in the remarks is to his alleged reactionarism and his formal withdrawal from the National Congress and the All India Working Congress Committee.

Further, the implications of the remarks are manifold and can be summed up that the Mahatma is a reactionary politician and not a forward and shrewd statesman; that, if he is shrewd, at all, his shrewdness has not the sharpness and duplicity of the Western diplomats; that the man is different from the statesman; that his politics are separate from his religion; and that

his peaceful policy, in character, is one of doubtful utility.

In our humble opinion the Mahatma is above all worldliness and the secular classifications of the man, the statesman, and the reformer are different names and forms that can be merged into the true individuality of the religionist and spiritualist, the Mahatma.

The present publication is intended to clarify the haziness and ignorance of those who either understand a little or misunderstand or not understand, at all, the true import of the life and principles of the great personage.

The aim of the book shall be amply justified and rewarded, if it helps to dispel the darkness that hangs round the philosophy of his life and the code of his social, moral, and religious conduct.

G. D. CONSUL.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

It gives the author no little pleasure to thank the following gentlemen for the kind assistance rendered by them towards the publication of the present volume.

Firstly he has to thank Mr. Radhey Charan Gupta for his kindly taking down from dictation the manuscript.

He has also to thank Mr. Ranjit Kumar Seal for doing the press-copy and the designs for the Title, the Jacket and the Trade-Mark.

The author feels under no little obligation to Pt. Jainti Prasad Bhargava for his kind patronage, and offers his thanks to him for the zeal and interest with which he has brought out the present publication.

Lastly thanks are due to Dr. Yudhvir Singh for his kind suggestions and feelings of good will towards the writer, his school-fellow and friend.

The Author.

LIFE-SKETCH

It is a burning question of the time, if Mahatma Gandhi will continue to hold the highest place in the affections of his people and be regarded as not only the foremost reformer of his country, but also as the greatest man and the statesman of his time.

It is, to our humble mind, not untrue that his name has been held in the highest esteem of his countryman and that it is more as the religionist than the reformer, the man, and the statesman that he has gained the greatest popularity among his people; and still enjoys and shall command their most profound confidence.

The permanent epithet of Mahatma is a glowing tribute of national homage to the religionist and no small token of reverential hero-worship of a truly religious man by a religious people.

The height of greatness reached and retained by

him has been his work of a life-time. Time and life have seen him, in search of and experiments with truth, through a hard struggle against the evil forces of nature which work within and without flesh and blood and brought home to his susceptible soul a living principle of truth which to the sublimity of his conception is the only truth of all life, of all time.

With hey-day to his height and grey-haired greatness, his time, in the evening of his life, is looking upto a climax which, according to his belief and conviction, is to be found in the absolute truth, the realisation of which alone can lead to the final emancipation of man.

His life's ascent can be likened to his walk up a ladder, a quartet of rungs that have been traversed in four steps of different measures. The first rung was taken with a feeble foot of juvenile frivolity, the second was measured with a step of

awakened sensibility, the third was stepped on with a determined measure of manliness, and the step on to the fourth has brought him to his present height, to leave him in calm contemplation of the heights yet unattained.

Each rung can be demarcated into a denominational stage of life, of temptation, awakening, experimentation, and expectation which coincide with and correspond to the four stages of human life, youth, adolescence, manhood, and mature age.

Each stage of his life has been a supplementary part and a progressive succession contributory to the wholesome homogeneity of a whole life of evolutionary growth, for the wholesomeness of which it has passed under a method of cultural development, a process of analytical elimination of all that is unwholesome and synthetic simplification and assimilation of all that is healthy and wholesome.

Whether at nursery or at school, in the society of his fellows or the friends of his family, at home or abroad, in the field of reform or the sphere of politics, in the region of morality or the higher plane of religion, he has fought the battles of his life with the spirit of a true warrior and with the weapons of Truth and *Ahimsa*.

In his youth, the apostle of truth and the sponsor of *Ahimsa* did not give promise of his phenomenal greatness, but rather showed signs of a tendency that took colour from the evil influences of environment and that had almost drifted him into a vicious channel to drown him into the oblivion of death.

His timidity-complex, his nervous shyness, his attempt at juvenile-smoking, his efforts at meat-eating, his little acts of larceny, his strong sexual-leaning, his act of double shame, his coercion towards his wife, and his abortive attempt at adultery and suicide are a few

gloomy aspects of his early career that can be imputed to natural human weakness, the vagaries of youth, to the Epicurean sophistry of a misguiding friend of a misguided brother, to a fantastic spirit of reform, to a false sense of freedom and patriotic zeal, to the desperate attempt to get out of the whirl-pool of life's complications, to instinctive impulsiveness, to the momentary heat of passion, to the subdued feelings of an over-powered heart, and the pusillanimous attitude of a demented mind.

Beyond the gloom of a dark back-ground of his sinful life, could be seen, in the distant parhelion of his later life, the glimmer of the flickering traits of his virtues that waited their turn for a spark of some kind or the other to fan them all into a flame. The needed spark, when it came, came either from the innate light of his own truthful heart, or from the illuminatian of his enlightened and enlightening environment, or from the brilliant and radiant effulgence

of the Unknown-helograph, to lead the miscalculating and the floundering youth with its kindly light on to the path of virtue.

Love of truth, the truest of all great passions, was innate in his nature and, of course, a strong aversion to lie native to his soul. The allegation of a lie or a mere imputation of a false motive brought forth from his eyes a protest in tears. A spirit of reform and fire of freedom burnt within his heart, which needed to be kindled into an eternal flame of an emancipated life of independent radiance.

A sense of disinterested service of humanity and an altruistic passion for sacrifice, even fast unto-death, in the cause of truth, are the sublime conception of his life of poverty and prayer, supplication and submission, repentance and confession, intuition and introspection, qualities blending with self-control, mental poise and even temparament, a fine sense of wit and humour, which is broad-based on the rock foundation

of truth which is the one article of his faith and the only corner-stone of his non-violent creed that has unsophisticated simplicity and unqualified humility as ornamentations of the elegant edifice of his character. The dream of a life of ideological conception as above, before it became an accomplished fact, saw the erring youth, face to face, with the stern realities of life with their concomitant vicissitudes of alternating hope and fear, failure and success, defeat and triumph.

His gropings in the darkness of a clouded youth, especially his indulgence in his act of double shame, on the fateful night of his father's death, aroused in him a sense of awakened consciousness and repentance that pulled him up from the dissipating depths of ignorance into a penumbra of adolescent conscientiousness that was to develope into a full disc of religiousness with his advance into manhood and mature age.

His youth can be said to have passed into

awakening with the close of his father's life. The death that gathered the father to ashes did not only close the bright chapter of his father's life, but also closed the dark pages of a wayward life of animal impulsiveness of the son. It was a dawn of light that awakened him to dispel the darkness of youthful past and flood in the light of adolescent awakening. It is not from the East alone that light comes, even the darkest cloud has a silver lining. It is not unlikely and not believed in vain that light came to him from darkness and the West.

The awakening can be said to begin with his success at the Entrance examination, the death of his father, and the birth of his son, that in its turn gave birth to a new life of fresh responsibilities.

It was under penurious circumstances and under the weight of anxious responsibility that he started his college career, in which, to his great despair and

disappointment, he could not acquit himself well. It was due to his incapability to sip from his collegiate learning that he was intended to be called at Bar in England.

It was not without difficulties that arrangements for his legal career could be brought to a successful completion.

Finances had to be found, caste prejudice had to be overcome, social superstitions, false conventions of community had to be fought and flown against on pain of excommunication, the fondness of a loving mother, her sentiment of separation, her fear of his religious pollution, and her diffidence in the son to resist the temptations of meat, wine and woman which according to her credulous mind her son's English sojourn was liable to, had to be appeased by the son's declaration on oath and with the solemnity of a pledge to abstain from vice and to live a life of abstemious continence.

With the assent and blessings of his mother and a sentimental parting from his young wife and a three-month baby, he set out from his home to Bombay bound for England. His passage anyhow secured, his voyage amidst the farewell of friends began on 4th September 1889.

After a soft sail on the sea, when once ashore the English soil, he set himself down to the task of adjusting his life to the new conditions, a new climate, and a new people. It took him a little time and trouble, before he could accommodate himself to a life of convenience and comfort. As soon as it was done, he began to acquaint himself with the manners and customs of English people, and showed some adaptability to their ways of life and living.

It seemed for a while that he was dazed and carried away by the glamour of

the metropolitan life. His dress bore the stamp of the Army and Navy Stores and the sartorial touch of the Bond Street, the then home of fashion. He mirrored to himself his daily crucifixion with the tie and the parting of the hair – little conscious of the parting of ways. He did all that he could to give himself the look and airs of an English gentleman, with a top-hat on his head and a golden time in his pocket, handy at his heart to serve him as a time-keeper against unpunctuality and to protect him from the enticing time of the London life.

His attempts at public speaking, learning the French language, playing upon violin and piano, spinning and singing with the sons and daughters of the Father Thames are a few fashionable failures of his æsthetic pursuits of a Londoner's life.

Vegetarianism and journalism were the common subjects to which he gave his serious thought. The

study of religion became with him the serious purpose of his life which he devoted himself to with the keenest of interests and the most meticulous care, till it became the most sublime passion of his life. With these serious occupations the artificiality of the high life of London was reduced in good time to the economic life of conscientious studentship. It took him the rest of his life time of experiment and expectation to attune the coarseness of his semi-nude exterior to the natural simplicity and humility of his high souled-interior.

Throughout his stay in England he preserved the solemn sanctity of the pledge to his mother with a resolute firmness by not allowing himself and his character to be contaminated by the slightest touch and contact with meat, wine and women on pain of no little personal inconvenience and discomfort, save for the incidence of a technical lie, a sort of contagi-

ous cancer which he contracted after the Indian student's mannerism to conceal their state of paternity from their English friends, so as not become their laughing stock, and which he passed on to an English widow and a spinster, her ward who was making advances to him at the widow's instance with a view to matrimony and under the erroneous impression of his bachelor state. The cancer before it assumed a serious humour was removed under the operation of his usual confession of his real state of mastery of a wife and the paternity of a baby to no little amusement of the widow and the young maid. Yet, another lapse he was almost liable to was his sudden fascination for a young English lady at the bridge table in a hotel. He was saved from an abysmal fall through a friend's reprimand to him for his unusual excitement and misbehaviour. With a growing consciousness and conscientious awakening he took to his

vocational studies with a remarkable seriousness, was called to the Bar in 1891 and admitted to the Inn's Court as a full fledged Barrister.

Instead of showing a buoyant spirit of high hopes and great expectations as are natural accompaniments of occasions of success as his, he made a hasty return to his motherland, leaving the shores of England in a mood of dispirited despair and downhearted dejection and landing at Bombay in a stormy sea without which was an index of a stormy sea of dark diffidence within, only to learn from his brother the mournful death of his mother who had died in his absence from home.

Three years ago, when he had gone to England, he carried with him the sad memory of his father's death; now, that he had returned to India, he had to suffer in silence with his characteristic calm the irreparable loss of his mother.

His parents had little to leave for him in legacy. The much that parentage could endow him with, other than what they could lavish on him by way of the usual fondness and love of parents and the general amenities of life belonging to their status, was the rich inheritance of the fraternal and parental affection of his eldest brother, that did not make him miss the loss of his parents, and the memory of which he still cherishes with the deepest feeling of brotherly love and filial gratitude.

On his return from England, he stood on the threshold of manhood, when he should be in readiness to take up and share with his brother the responsibilities of their household. The death of his mother gave him a sad start in life which was an acrimonious beginning of a bitter life that had still in store for him the bitterest experiences and the most painful yet useful experiments to make: Although he was

a full fledged Barrister in his exterior with the colorful plumage of a ribboned gown and an academical diploma that privileged him to practise his legal vocation, yet it is from his personal admission that we know that he sadly lacked in himself the qualities of a practising Lawyer.

Despite the best of his efforts to equip himself with the requisite knowledge and experience for his Indian legal practice, which he did to his utmost as an apprentice, he was even then a hopeless failure in the practice of his profession both at the Bombay High Court and the Kathiawar States.

He bided his time with a remarkable patience and lived his life under sufferance of professional humiliation, till an offer through his brother presented itself in the shape of a sinecure as a legal agent to Messrs. Abdulla & Co. for conducting their case in a South African Court. He thought it as his life's

opportunity and was not slow to avail himself of it, but rather he took it with the most cordial readiness.

His emigration to South Africa proved to be the most trying and painful shift from the frying-pan into fire.

His South-African sojourn, to use a simile, is a stage tragedy of both action and thought dispersed over many an act and multiplicity of scenes. It is full of dramatic interest and suspense from beginning to end. Its painful prelude progresses into a pathetic development which in its turn culminates in the woeful catastrophe of the climax. The tragedy on the whole is replete with tense moments, tragic situations, and heart-rending scenes with their respective tests and trials, toil and torture, pride and prejudice, kicks and cudgels, jealousy and hatred, insult and humiliation, famine and fire, plague and pestilence, disease and death.

The curtain rises over a landing-stage on a South-African coast where the hero is watched ashore with a hateful angularity by the white masters of the South-African colonies. The development sees many a scene of pathetic barbarity with varying vicissitudes of nerve-breaking intensity, when the final curtain drops down on a cell of a South-African prison where the iron bars of the prison gate closed down with a bang on the hero of the tragedy.

The tragic tension of this high-tragedy is, however, punctuated with intervals of peaceful atmosphere of a wholesome calm in which the hero is seen busy like a bee with his sublime pre-occupations and experimentation with remedies to right human ills and wrongs done to the down-trodden humanity.

To use a pastoral simile, if the period of his English sojourn can be compared to the ploughing season of a harvest, the period of his African stay

may be likened to the time of seed and germination, a little sprout, and a wee growth.

It was the period of his experimentation with the principles of life which have been forged on the anvil of his African experience and shaped into a definiteness of tried and tested rules of guidance for embodiment into his general code of conduct for the temporal and spiritual government of his life and living.

It was a time of a life of strenuous ordeal which he went through with an unflagging zeal and unflinching courage and in a mood of calm and peaceful defiance against the partialities, inequalities, and injustices of colour-prejudice and racial hatred of the Whites for the coloured natives, the Indian emigrants, mostly Indenture-labour coolies of Northern and Southern India, and all coloured Asiatics.

He suffered personal insults, humiliations, hard-

ships, sufferings, tortures, imprisonment and almost death in his struggle for the removal of social and political disabilities and inequalities of his country men and the amelioration and redress of the misery of the natives of South-Africa.

His South-African struggle can be called a political crusade against the unchristian and heathen administrative machinery of the Colonial Government.

It was a holy war that carried on its warfare on a novel method of Satyagraha which is fundamentally different from the primitive and barbarous method of homicidal character that rains relentless death with lethal weapons into the enemy's camp. It is a non-violent method. It enjoins upon the Satyagraha soldiers to meet the opponent's armed aggression with unarmed submissive opposition and to suffer painful inflictions upto painful death.

This Satyagraha method was tried with a re-

markable success and the creative efficacy of a bloodless warfare in his South-African struggle. It his own invention and bears the stamp of his originality. It is un-paralleled in the whole human-history and in the technique of warfare. For its detailed study the reader is referred to the 'History of Satyagraha in South Africa'. It was used in the colonial struggle on an experimental scale with hopeful and encouraging results. It was yet to be tried with greater effectiveness on an extensive scale in the struggle for freedom of his Motherland under his personal guidance of an expert Commander of the non-violent national forces.

His experiments, other than political, that were made in hygiene, sanitation, public health, famine relief, earth and water treatment, celibacy, silence, fast, domestic, legal profession, dietetics, religion, spiritual culture, education, instruction and journalism are too numerous to be described in detail for want of space

and the desirous reader, however, can read them with detailed interest in the perspicuity of the graphical descriptions of his autobiography.

He also founded three institutions, the Tolstoy Farm, the Phoenix Settlement, and the Natal Indian Congress in South Africa.

Most of his experiments in South Africa were radically based on the one principle of truth which he professes can be found with non-violence, in word, deed, and thought.

His idea of truth is one of Universal Absoluteness and Unity which can be attained amidst the multiplicity of the universal existence, through a belief in its falsehood and the constant practice of truth and non-violence in all its three forms in the various walks of life whether social, political, moral, or religious.

With him his religion which is the religion of truth is all in all. To him sociology and ethics

have no other distinctive value than that of religion, which does not draw a line between his politics, ethics, and sociology.

To be short, it can be summed up that to him his politics are his morality and his morality is his religion. However, the paradoxical character of his life's principles and their practice in active life has been a dilemma that has baffled the comprehension of even the best of his comrades who come in constant social contact and direct association with him in the peace of his Ashram and the busy life of toil and turmoil in the fields of National life and regeneration.

It should be no surprise, then, that the distant critic, the detached protagonist, and the inquisitive rival should, in their efforts to judge the great Mahatma and the philosophy of his life in the face of his seemingly contradictory actions, make their

mind's confusion still worse confounded. It needs, as we have felt and found, a detailed knowledge of the principles of his philosophy, his ethics and his religion which the readers will find elsewhere in these pages.

After, his final return from his land of adoption to the country of his birth he was seen engaged in fighting the social and political diseases of the motherland and the menace of its foreign domination which like a gangrenous cancer, notwithstanding the great efforts and sacrifices of her patriotic sons and daughters, was eating into the vitals of Mother India.

His first political contact with India can be said to have begun in the first year of the twentieth century, when he attended the National Congress at Calcutta. Like an unknown warrior he took up his post as an insignificant clerk of the Congress and made the acquaintance of Mr. Gokhale, the

great Indian Patriot.

It was a time of the Congress, when the clarion-call of trumpets heralded on to the National platform the inveterate leaders like Messrs. B. G. Tilak, S. N. Banerjee, and B. C. Pal under the presidentship of Sir, Dinshaw Wacha amidst a tumultuous grandeur of national enthusiasm and patriotism.

The feeble and nervous voice of our unknown warrior should have been lost upon deaf ears in the echoes of the thundering and patriotic speeches that flowed from the National platform to a no less patriotic audience whose cheers, clappings, and shouts of political slogans seemed to rend the sky with their uproarious reverberations, had it not been for the sympathetic ear of Mr. Gokhale who helped him to get through his South-African resolution in the last five minutes of the close of the Congress to his no little complacency that it had a safe

passage and had behind it the voice of the Congress which was the voice of a whole Nation.

His real political contact with India began in the year 1914, the year of the commencement of the Great European War.

The period beginning with the commencement of the Great War in 1914 to a little after its close in 1919 is the preparatory period of his budding manhood which was to blossom and fructify in the next decade with constitutional changes in the administration of the country, beginning with the Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, announced in the King's proclamation and ending with the declaration of the scheme of Indian Federation to be inaugurated in near future in 1940.

During the period of preparation of bud and blossom he set himself to the work of acquainting himself with the actual conditions of the country and its people.

For this purpose, he went on an extensive tour of the country meeting the masses and men of culture, and making friends with patriotic veterans and master minds, profiting them and profiting by their mutual association and fellow-ship. It was a time when his South-African seeds, germinating, began to bear fruit. The 3£. tax on Indian emigrants to South-Africa was abolished in 1914 and the Indian Indenture Labour stopped for good in 1917.

Having gathered first-hand information and direct knowledge of the state of affairs in the country, he set afoot the undenominational civil disobedience movement in Champaran, Behar which resulted in the abolition of the arbitrary system of Tankathia and figuratively speaking in the removal of the indelible Indigo Stain from the face of Behar.

The notable events of moment of this period of blossom and fruit are the establishment of his

Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati, his successful labour strike against the mill-owners of Ahmedabad, the Satyagraha of Kheda, his participation in the War Conference, his promise and performance of recruitment of Indian soldiers for the Great War, its termination, truce, and peace celebrations, and of last but not least importance the passing of the Rowlatt Act.

This black-law was resented by the Mahatma as an ungrateful recognition and undesirable compensation for his personal service and sacrifice, and the loss of millions of lives of his country-men in the Great War. The political events of historical importance that followed in its wake were the country-wide Hartals, the friendly flow of souls in the scenes of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Khilafat agitation, scenes of patriotism run-amock to result in riots in the differant political centres of

the country, the catastrophic tragedy of the Jalianwalabagh at Amritsar, and the scenes of barbarous inhumanity and repression in retaliation on the part of the custodians of an unfortunate people who were made to crawl like worms on their bellies and subjected to many an indescribable indignity and dishonour by the relentless executors of the martial law inquisition.

The lessons of the riots did not go unlearnt in as much as the civil disobedience campaign that was waiting to be launched was postponed, till the people were well-schooled in the art of non-violent warfare.

The following year saw the birth of the Khadi movement, the introduction of the spinning wheel, the anti-untouchability movement, and the holding of a special session of the National Congress at Calcutta and the death of the great leader Lokmanya Tilak.

In the year 1921 which is a momentous land-mark in the history of the Indian National Congress, the Congress at Nagpur passed the constitution framed by the Mahatma the mere working of which according to his mind could obtain Swaraj, as also the resolution for the commencement of the non-co-operation movement.

The non-co-operation movement began with a general political awakening of the people, in a flood of national enthusiasm and with a spirit of peaceful non-violence throughout the length and breadth of the country. For a time it seemed to carry before it the violent forces of opposition with its rising tide, till it overflowed its level to drift into a channel of violence, arson, and murder that resulted in the tragedy of Chauri-chaura, a Police Station in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces.

The Chauri-chaura tragedy was considered by

the Mahatma as an impious act of the Satyagraha soldiery that called for atonement on the part of the father of the movement and the Marshal of the non-violent national forces. Like a penitent ascetic who subjects himself to personal sufferance in expiation of a sin, the great Commander to a great chagrin of the country cried halt to the movement and postponed the programme of his Bardoli Satyagraha at a psychological time, when the enemy was shivering in his boots and the victory was in sight. If the surrender and abandonment to the enemy of the political advantages that were to be gained in the event of victory was a deed of virtuous chivalry in the eyes of the Apostle of Truth and Ahimsa, to the mind of the worldly-wise it was the height of his folly; and to the expedient diplomat and opportunist, the greatest act of political bankruptcy.

The Chauri-chaura tragedy was followed by his

arrest, his memorable trial in the Court of Sessions, his confession of his crime, his sentence for a term of six years imprisonment and his march into the Sabarmati jail at Ahmedabad. When he had been two years in jail he suffered from appendicitis, was operated on at the Sassoon Hospital at Poona, and was soon afterwards released. The time between his release and almost a decade after was a period of reaction and counter-action which expressed themselves in the shape of Hindu-Muslim schism, controversies among political leaders, communal riots at important centres, and the general political and economical set-back in all the departments of national life.

This unwholesome and unhealthy atmosphere sorely distressed the mind of the Mahatma and for the purification of its unwholesome effects he observed a periodical fast of 20 days at Delhi which as he

stated was a matter of personal dispute between himself and his God, an atonement, and a prayer for forgiveness for the involuntary sins of a broken heart that was done to pieces.

The fast coming to a successful close the Mahatma chalked out a programme of constructive work and brought about a settlement of the political controversy that was raging hot between the rival political leaders—Changers and No-changers.

A conscientious scheme of national demands based on the concensus of all shades of political opinion was drafted and was brought out in the name of the Nehru Report that had for its minimum demand the attainment of Dominion Status within the Empire.

As a result the holding of a Round Table Conference of leaders of all shades of opinion by the Government was regarded as a show without subs-

tantiality and the demand for the Dominion-status was raised and resolved to that of full Independence, which was given full expression to in the national celebrations of the Independence-day all over the country.

In the year 1930 came the statement of the Viceroy in his speech in the Assembly. In reply to his statement the Mahatma submitted the famous 'Gandhian Eleven Points' and the non-acceptance of the same by the Viceroy led to his historical *March to Dandi* which was the beginning of a greater struggle for national freedom.

The second struggle began well. Every step that was taken was a cautious step and a step forward. Every inch of ground was traversed with care and with the experience of the past. Gradually the movement started gathering momentum; and its slow march passed into acceleration till it became a

hot race for patriots to reach the winning post of freedom.

The movement spread like a wild-fire over the whole country and the scenes of tragic character that were unseen in 1921 were witnessed in 1930. The war waged hotter than ever and the repressive machinery was set in motion with a quicker speed than before. It was a war between two warring nations that vied with each other to carry away the palm.

Arrests, lathi-charges, and firing were the order of the day, the jails began to fill with Satyagrahis and the hospitals with broken heads. Mahatma Gandhi was arrested and put as a prisoner on parole in Yeravda Jail, Poona. With his arrest Indian patriotism was stimulated to a greater action for breaking of all kind of civil law than the relentless repression of the custodians of law who issued

ordinance after ordinance to smash all national institutions that bred a spirit of patriotism and fed the Indian nationalists with the material of the non-violent war.

Notwithstanding the might of the bureaucratic Government with its full resources and repressive measures the Satyagrahis were proving the better of the enemy. It seemed for a time that the steel-frame had been bent and that it bowed down its head to national power. More severe ordinances were placed on the Statute-book with less effect and without the least abatement of the fury of the movement.

National fury was met with the fiercest fury of the British Imperialism. Wholesale arrests of leaders and national heroes began to be made and they were marched in procession to prison cells until the forces of repression were in a nervous tension

of a break-down, At last through the joint Sapru-Jayakar mediation the Government was obliged to save the situation by the unconditional release of all the distinguished leaders which was followed by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact by virtue of which all the Satyagrah prisoners, in all about a lac, earned their release.

With the signing of the Pact conditions in the country appeared to come to a normal. Sometime after and in response to the invitation of the Paramount power, Mahatma Gandhi went to England to attend the plenary session of the Round Table Conference. He was given a great reception by all classes of people in England, At the Conference the Mahatma in his speeches put the case of his country in the most clear terms and with the greatest shrewdness which earned him the admiration not only of the distinguished statesmen of England

but of the whole world.

When he returned from England to India, the Agrarian agitation was going in the United Provinces in full swing, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested with Mr. Sherwani, the then President of the Provincial Congress Committee.

With their arrest the whole country was once again affected with the bitterest resentment and infused with a spirit of nationalism and patriotic zeal. Notwithstanding the best efforts of the Mahatma to move the central authority into a mood of conciliatory policy the bureaucracy set in motion their repressive measures into stronger action. National institutions were seized and movable property forfeited. Even the Student-unions and the Khadi stores were declared illegal and the direct or indirect contact of the Satyagrahis with their relations and friends was made an object lesson of repression to the wary

or unwary sympathy of relations of the enemies of the Government. In short the constitutional government had given place to the reign of terror.

Despite the severest repression sixty thousand nationalists had usurped their places in Government jails. Now when the national struggle had undergone three years hard strain of repression coupled with the international economic depression in the country, the non-co-operation movement began to breathe hard and to show signs of exhaustion.

It was a turning point when the war began to wax and wane with varying vicissitudes, ups and downs, back-slides and march forward, till the home-thrust of the mailed-fist of the bureaucracy completely overpowered the non-violent opposition which was cornered into the narrowness of almost non-entity. The tyranny of repression gave the forces of Satyagrah

a defeatist mentality and the whole Movement a semblance of a nervous tension and break-down to its practical cessation.

However, the sick-struggle continued to breathe hard and Mahatma Gandhi in the seclusion of his cell was raking his head to find out some means or the other for the cancellation of separate electorates for the untouchables in the new scheme of constitutional reform. When his efforts from within the jail failed to impress upon the framers of the law and the leaders of the untouchables his view-point, he decided as a last resort upon the observance of his Epic fast-unto-death unless some definite settlement was arrived.

When he began his fast, it stirred the whole country into an anxious activity. After a nightmare of restlessness the nation's voice prevailed and a settlement was concluded with honourable amicability

when Mahatma Gandhi broke his historical fast with a cup of lemon squash crushed by Kamla Nehru and taken from the hands of Mrs. Gandhi to the great rejoicing of the people.

Then from within the walls of his prison he conducted the Anti-untouchablity campaign with appreciable results and is still carrying on propaganda against this social demon of the Hindu Society. He regards untouchablity as a curse, an anathema and a dark spot on the character of the whole Hindu community and Hindu Religion.

He regards the untouchables and their poverty with a divine feeling. He calls them 'Harijans', the people of God. He has deified their poverty as 'Daridra-narayan' for the deification of all untouchables and the apotheosis of the whole Anti-untouchablity Movement.

The determination of the right to a life of freedom and equality, according to his belief and conviction,

is governed by the measure of a law of equity that concedes to all individuals and groups of men the privilege of living a life of equal freedom as their birth-right. The denial of the same by an individual or group to another on their part is to make a pact with the devil and give a joint invitation to the wrath of this Law and its Nemisis to mete out to its sinners a cup of equal measure of bitterness and humiliation, give refusal to a life of sweet freedom on earth, and to make them lead a life of slavish bondage and hellish torture in the darkness of death.

In the knowledge and belief that the Anti-untouchablity work was not carried on and received with a pure mind and a pure heart, he felt the need of its immediate purification.

Under the distress of the callousness and conservatism of the superstitions of the Hindu Relegion and Society that trampled upon the divine

right of religious and social equality to their untouchable brethern, he sought for the cause of the unbending and grudging attitude of the society to his own spiritual imperfection. For the spiritual expansion of his soul he observed a periodical fast for 21 days. The Government, in view of his week-health to go through the fast, was afraid of taking the responsibility of the safety of his life—wise counsel prevailing—ordered his release.

Inspite of his release he continued his fast that had to be completed and broken on its full term at the ' Parna Kuti ' the marble palace at Poona.

Partly owing to his ill-health and partly to the weak and gasping condition of the Mass Civil Disobedience Movement itself, it had to be stopped to be revived and replaced by the Individual Civil Disobedience.

The touching event that took aback the country

with its suddenness was his abrupt resolve to bring about the disbandment of his 'Sabarmati Ashram' after its life of full 17 years. His feelings at this fortunate or unfortunate decision can be better imagined than described. The disbandment of the 'Ashram' that had been built by his own hands and nourished under his tender care had to be given a melancholy closure, it can be guessed, must have behind it something secret and significant that should not necessarily call for an open explanation but rather should be assumed to have a strong moral justification for its close.

Having undone what he wished he had not to do he went on his march to 'Ras' with his band of 32 'Ashramites', (16 men & 16 women) to look into the condition of the peasantry of that locality.

The Government put a ban on his march and on his breaking it he was arrested, tried and

sentenced for one year to be put once again in the Yeravda 'Mandir'.

With his incarceration the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement caught impetus as if by magic, spread faster than before, and continued to wax and wane, till the time when it was brought to its final cessation.

This time, when he was placed behind the bars, the facilities for carrying on his anti-untouchablity campaign were barred against the Mahatma.

His position was clear. The cause dearest to his heart and for which he had staked his life could not be trifled with and forced to be abandoned. He could not but once again resort to fast. When he began it, his condition became serious and critical in its very beginning and the Government peforce had no other alternative to save themselves from the responsibility of his life than to

order his unconditional release, when he had been on fast for five days.

Even after his release the Mahatma considered himself to be a detenu of the Government, acted in a way, as if he was a prisoner, and ultimately decided and called off the Civil Disobedience Movement.

It was now about the close of the year 1933, when he went on his 'Harijan' tour which bore out satisfactory and appreciable results in as much as many a temple has been thrown open to the untouchables. Their right of equality to use wells and roads, and to have the benefit of schools and colleges with the Classes has been accepted and recognised as a proof of the sympathy and generosity of those who suppose themselves placed above their less fortunate brethern.

The Anti-untouchablity movement ever since

has been prospering under his immediate care, and it is expected that before long the disgraceful blot of untouchablity will be wiped out not to leave the slightest vestige of its ignominy.

It is painful to mention two regrettable incidents that happened during the 'Harijan' tour. The one was a murderous attempt at his life that had a providential escape from the sinister and fatal design of some malicious conspirators to bomb him to death at Poona, and the other was the impertinence, foolhardiness, and pertinacity of one Lal Nath of Benares, a counter-propagandist, who hounded him, wherever he went, till he was roughly handled by some rash and highly mortified adherent of the Mahatma in contradiction of his creed of non-violence. In expiation of the sin by the unknown votary of his creed he had to observe a fast for seven days.

In the meanwhile the Civil Disobidience Movement was breathing hard. In the Congress there rose up a strong political party who thought that those country-men and patriots who could not participiate in the Civil Disobedience Movement should take to constructive work and lend strength to the Congress work in support of Council-entry. Dr. Ansari was the leader of this group.

With the advice of the Working Committee the Civil disobedience Movement was brought to a final close and a Parliamentary Board was formed under the Presidentship of Dr. Ansari for preparing the ground for fighting Council elections collecting funds, and raising subscription.

The Civil Disobedience Movement coming to its complete cessation the Government lifted the ban from all the Congress institutions and released all the prisoners of the non-violent war.

In his Wardha statement Mahatma Gandhi declared his withdrawal from the Congress in view of the allegations of the Congress revolutionary party who indicted him for his exclusive monopolisation of the Congress.

Although he had resigned from the Congress yet it should not be supposed for a moment that he ceased to take interest in its matters. Even from without the Congress his paramountcy over it reigns supreme. He has had, all along, his distant eye and influence on the Congress and its Policy.

In his sequestration, as usual, he has devoted himself to the work of rural uplift which is being egged and pushed on by all classes of people in a spirit of genuine interest, perfect harmony, and co-ordination with the Government, the Congress and other denominational, social, and political parties.

In the year 1936 the Congress decided on its

entry into the Provincial Councils, also. An election manifesto was issued. After the Congress at Faizpur, under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Provinces were agog with election activities. The Congress President's tour made a stir in the country. When the elections were fought the Congress came out with flying colours having captured six Provinces completely and three others with an overwhelming majority.

Although the Mahatma was out of the Congress yet the elections were fought in his name which worked like a spell over the people who rallied round the Congress flag. The elections clearly proved whether he may be within or without the Congress his individuality or his personal entity cannot be separated from the Congress and its Policy, he being the truest and the best representative of the soul of the country and her people.

After the termination of the elections and the vindication of the domination of the Congress, it being the real mouth-piece of the national voice, there arose a great crisis that threatened a split in the Congress itself over the question of acceptance of the Provincial Ministries. The socialist party was against office-acceptance, whereas the other parties were in its favour. There was yet another strong party that did not believe in the political wordy-warfare that was going on between the rival factions, but laid more stress on the solid and intrinsic value of the problem. The controversy assumed such a critical magnitude that Congress, in its last extremity, had to tap the main-spring and rush up for help to avert the crisis, to their only freind, guide and philosopher the Mahatma.

The Mahatma, as usual, rose equal to the occasion and advised office-acceptance on the

condition that if the Government could give assurance that the majority opinion of the Ministers shall not be interfered with and vetoed, under the special powers, by the Provincial Governors.

His solution was acceptable in one form or the other both to the Government and the Congress, and the Congress Ministries were formed in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the United and the Central Provinces, and the Provinces of Behar and Orissa. Later on, in the North West Frontier Province Congress Coalition Ministry was formed to be followed in its wake by Assam Congress Ministry and the acceptance of Congress programme by Sind. In short, in 9 out of the 11 Provinces the national tri-colour flag is hoisted and flying high.

Once more after the session of the Haripura Congress a Ministerial dead-lock over the question of the release of revolutionary political prisoners

ensued in the United Provinces and Behar, where the Ministers resigned their offices on the interference, of their Governors. There also arose a constitutional crisis in the Province of Orissa. It was through the guidance of the Mahatma and the stern attitude taken by him that made the Government yield to his wishes and save the situation.

Since then he has taken to the materialisation of the peaceful work of national education, rural re-construction, prohibition, and anti-untouchablity, that are making their head-way under his personal supervision and guidance in full collaboration with the Congress Ministries and in co-ordination with the Central Government.

The question of the consolidation of the North-West Frontier Province and that of the political freedom of Native States have occupied his serious attention.

The Rajkot Political episode is too well-known to be described here in detail. To be brief he made the small State of Rajkot the first battle-field of the political struggle which is to spread over other extensive fronts where the war of the political freedom has yet to be fought to a victorious finish.

The events of Rajkot, beginning with his fast, the mediation of the paramount power, the throwing away of the Gwyer Award, the initiation of a new technique of 'Ahimsa', and ending with the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the Native States, have provided a paradox to the people, placed the country at large on the horns of a dilemma, and created an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust in the minds of politicians about the sanity of his politics and statesmanship.

Although the election of Mr. Subhas Bose with his revolutionery tendeneies and the violent force

of his followers, as the President of the National Congress of 1938-39, was said to be and admitted by the Mahatma as the defeat of the Congress and himself yet the Congress session, when it was held at Tripuri, approved and passed his peaceful policy and programme by an over-whelming majority to prove that the country and its people have their unshaken and unshakable faith in him and his non-violent creed.

The Rajkot episode, the initiation of the new technique of 'Ahimsa' and the call of the Viceroy to meet him in private conference as the only recognised and accredited spokesman of the voice of the country on the eve of the preciptation and declaration of the German-Polish war of September, 1939, in Europe, are the final epoch-making events that have brought him to the fourth stage of his life for which the first three were made. It is

the stage of his Expectation. It is the time of his fulness and of his ripened crop, when it is lying scythed and sickled in the fields to be gathered and garnered, and when he, like a good harvester, amidst the cogitations of his mind with the threatening thunder of the warring dark clouds on the Western horizon and the impending inclemency of the wind and weather on his right and left, is busy in the improvisation of ways and means in calm contemplation of the expectation and determination to carry in cart loads his crop in time to stack it under the safe shelter of his roof for enjoyment in the full Independance of his Home, when his own people with the people of the world will cry from house-tops that if ever there was a Kingdom of Heaven on Earth, it lies prostrate at the feet of his Motherland.

THE MAN

Mahatma Gandhi was born of Gujrati parents at Porbunder, on 2nd October, 1869.

The capital with which a child begins his life is a gift of heredity. From heredity and parentage he had not only received in legacy physical embodiment, constitution, and complexion, but also inherited moral qualities which showed themselves to assert a little late in his life.

He was early put to school where he showed a weak memory and a dull intellect.

His career of studentship was one of an ordinary student both at school and college in India.

It was his English career of legal education which inculcated in him a desire and taste for classics, literature, and languages with other cultural attainments and accomplishments. He learnt Latin with some success which stood him in good stead in

his vocational study of Roman law and other classical pursuits.

His character has imbibed the cultural refinement and qualities of a true gentleman, and the simplicity, humility, and purity of an Indian ascetic, which cast their spell and influence on those who come within the compass of his spiritual and ethereal personality.

The strength of his character and weight of his personality find their true import in the phrase 'The Man', and in the forceful remark of George Bernard Shaw who said about Mahatma Gandhi that "he is not a man but a Phenomenon".

Speaking of his various relationships as son, brother, disciple, friend, and husband in which he stood to his parents, his brother, his teachers, his friends, and his wife, he has touched a chord that vibrates respective notes of filial affection,

fraternal love, respectful obedience, cordial reciprocity, and masterly ownership which is now mellowed into the love of a penitent husband.

The man is a gigantic force for united action, constant struggle, everlasting effort, perpetual preparation and perennial war.

He is the spirit of truth and the essence of non-violence. He is the ideal of a moral prophet, a political philosopher, and a living martyr to social, political, and religious reform.

He is the true interpreter of the life and soul of Mother-India and leader of the ancient Indian culture.

He is both an idealist and a man of action. He is the physical personification of Indian social caste-system with the head of a Brahman for intelligence, the heart of a Kshatriya for chivalry the hands of a Vaishya for active business and

the feet of a Sudra for service.

He is the man for sacrifice, a real friend of the poor, and a true devotee of the down-trodden.

He is the true guide and philosopher of the misguided humanity.

The man is a mighty force in the sea of national life that flows into its different channels, into its bays and gulfs, its creaks and fissures, its eddies and whirlpools, its open expanse, and its back-waters.

He is a virile human force, He is the man who is imbued with the spirit of reform and zeal for religion, with political fervour and fire of freedom, and has the simplicity of a lamb and the meakness of a child.

He is a great national force that has breathed life into his decadent country, as if by miracle, which is now become a veritable subject for

national imagination, speculation, and confirmation of his miraculous powers for performance.

He is a recognised international force that is governed by a physical and natural law of magnetism that draws within the magnetic field of his personality, the peoples of the world and their sympathy with the force of his personal charm.

The man is a divine revelation, a moral and religious manifestation of the doctrines of Truth and Ahimsa, and a true representative of God on earth.

The man is an ethereal embodiment of spirituality in which the individualities of the man, the statesman, the reformer, the religionist, the moralist, and the philosopher are all combined into the one personality of the Mahatma.

The man is an artist, a truthful poet, a realistic

painter, a non-violent sculptor, a peaceful architect, a serene and serious humorist, and a soft and sweet musician who sings to the rich and the poor, the sacred and the untouchable, the peasant and the landlord, the employee and the employer, the subjects and the ruling princes, the politicians and the statesmen of his country, the people and nations of the world, in one uniform and constant strain of truth and non-viodenee, the hopeful airs of national liberty, equality, fraternity and the Universal Brother-hood of Mankind.

The man is a great political leader who posseses the most essential qualification of moving the masses by the most persuasive oratory of a dominating apostle. He is a theorist, an organiser, a psychologist who understands the needs of his people, and can agitate to work out his chalked-out programme.

Such a Man and Leader who combines in himself the psychologist, the theorist, the orator, and the organiser comes only Once in Ages.

THE STATESMAN

We can say without the least fear of contradiction that Mahatma, the statesman is the mirror of his philosophy.

His political creed is based on the granite foundation of two fundamental principles of truth and non-violence which are the radical principles of his religion.

He has made the widest and the most extensive application of these two cardinal principles with a subtle ingenuity that has given rise to a complexity of a technique that puzzles the mind and baffles the comprehension even of the shrewdest and the best of his political associates and comrades.

Truth and non-violence are the burden of his song. They are the refrains that recur to him with a constant and unfailing frequency. He has exploited them in all fields of national life whether social,

political or economical and in the construction and execution of national plans and programmes with a consummate effectiveness which has been the surprise of his political rivals, the wonder of his people, and the astonishment of the nations of the world.

He has sent his message to the statesmen of the world to adopt his creed of non-violence as the only means of giving a permanent stop to war.

Although his offer of his creed is most likely to be looked upon as a quixotic ideology of a crank and mono-maniac yet signs are visible, not far, when the statesmen of the world, realising the futility of war and the blessings of a permanent peace—all their violent methods failing—will proclaim with the pacifists of the world that non-violence is peace, love, life, and bliss.

His political ideal is to secure the freedom of

his motherland from foreign domination and the establishment of a federation, a democratic government of the United Free States of India, a divine democracy, distinct from the social democracies of the world.

To this end he has evolved a new method of warfare known as Satyagrah, the only weapon of his armoury that has been effectively used in the struggle of national freedom.

Satyagrah is the only unfailing method of his political code. It is the substitute for rebellion or war against political wrong or injustice.

It has its own tactics and strategy. It has, in the process of its evolution, acquired a tested and tried technique that has the weight of successful experiments in country-wide hartals, mass or individual civil disobedience, periodical fasts or fast-

unto-death; and surrender in the event of victory.

The technique of surrender is a peculiar strategy that has called forth on more than one occasion trenchant popular criticism and has created disgust and even distrust in some of his ranks.

He resorts to the technique of surrender when the hands and minds of the Satyagrah soldiery are soiled with violence or blood. Then, surrender he regards as an expiation of the sin. It is his purge for purification.

He seems to think, "What Swaraj will be worth, if it is gained through violence. It will be an ill-gotten Swaraj where violence born of hatred which is death, reigns and where love, which is life, lies bleeding."

He is a non-violent Christian and has the Christian spirit of confession. He confesses, when he makes the surrender, a double wrong, personal as

well as on the part of his comrades.

Non-violence is his dearest treasure. He believes if its loss come through the people the recovery of the loss must be made by the people.

The effective forcefulness of his non-violent creed can be seen from the double place that it has scored both in Africa and India and in the entering of his country into the straight of freedom whence it can make a bold bid for the win of Independence.

He is a revolutionary who believes in a peaceful and bloodless revolution.

He is an optimist and a visionary who can see, in either events of a war ceasing or a war waging, the dawn of a New Culture and a New Age rising out of the state of peace or ashes of war, that shall rest and abide in peace the whole humanity.

THE STATESMAN

He is the Statesman who has both head and heart. He wears his heart upon his sleeves and carries his life in the hollow of his hands. His head which was put on price by the rivals is dedicated to the cause of his country.

THE REFORMER

Mahatma, the reformer, can be said to be the nett turn-over of conscious effort, the neat result of conscientious will, and the clean reflection of the spirit of the time.

It is our unhappy memory to recall that the young reformer, under a misconceived spirit of reform, fell a victim to the complexities of life, wheels within wheels, that reached a culmination in the fateful decision that stood him self-condemned to break his bones on the wheel of death. It was through sheer luck and grace of Providence that he refrained himself from taking the fatal resolve to do the short work of a life that has been dedicated to the noble cause of the freedom of his country.

It was in England that the spirit of reform came over him with congeniality. It began with

the tying up of his tasteful tongue and with the adoption of vegetarianism as his creed from the point of health and hygiene, which was later in life converted and confirmed into his religion.

Although the taste for dress and the fad of fashion lingered on with the young faddist too late in life yet music and dance and the other fashionable affectations of the English society which he had adopted were given up by him as unreal and unhappy affections that were opposed to the real life of an unostentatious student.

The spirit of religious reform and a desire to make a comparative study of religions were infused in him in South Africa in the society of Christian missionaries.

It was his African domicile that brought about the gradual simplification of the needs of life.

It was with the beginning of the Ashram life at Sabarmati that his needs under-went further change that minimised them to a thatched roof for shelter, a lion cloth and a wrapper to cover and protect his person, and a sparse vegetarian meal to sustain life and to keep his body and soul together.

The Mahatma is a teetotaller and a confirmed vegetarian. His argument for vegetarianism can be summed up and is beatified in his belief that a butterfly in its larva state feeds on dirt but when it develops into a colorful moth it feeds on a drop of honey.

Mahatma Gandhi, the reformer, is a force more of example than precept. When he means to do a thing, he thinks twice before he does it, and when the thought ripens into belief, he puts it into practice to generalise that 'Example is better than precept'.

He gives a religious basis to all his reforms whether social, political or economical.

His religion is the religion of God and his idea of Godhood is Truth that has for its hand-maid non-violence as the ethics of his religion.

The object of his religion and ethics is the attainment of human freedom and happincss on earth and bliss of heaven in life after death.

For the achievement of his aims he has reformed the eternal religion of the Hindus by a drive againts its irreligiousness, its irrationality, its die-hard conservatism, its superstitions, its sacerdotalism, its inhumanities, and its insanities.

God is the truth of his religion. His religion is reduced to truth and non-violence which have been enshrined within the temple of his mind and heart and passed into the code of his religious

and moral conduct for translation into his life.

As a social reformer he is the champion of the cause of the suffering Indian womanhood. He is an advocate of Widow-remarriage and the abolition of the Purdah-system.

The ideal of womanhood, according to him, is motherhood and a full feminine and spiritual expression. His ideal of an Indian woman is a cultured lady, a good mother, a happy wife, and a healthy and hospitable house- wife, unlike her foreign sister who is like an over-exposed and under-developed, picture made up under the creed of the Vanity Case.

He is the protector of the down-trodden, the untouchable whom he has consecrated as Harijan, the man of God. He is the friend of the poor, the workman, and the peasant. His national plan of reconstruction comprising rural-uplift, prohobition.

anti-untouchability, and mass education are the practical measures of reform that aim at their regeneration and rehabilitation.

His economical reforms aim at giving an entirely different complexion to the present world economic system.

The modern science of Economics with its untenable theories and inadequate principles are radically refuted by the Mahatma with a convincing subtlety and rationality of argument. His contention is that Economics is not a science in as much as it does not take into consideration the humane principles of morality, equity, and justice in the determination and generalisation of its hypotheses which are proved insufficient and incorrect in the absence of these humane elements with the result that the whole system of economics falls down and ceases to be a science worth the name.

His revised and correct definition of economics can be read with interest that it is the science and art of human social effort directed towards the production, protection, and exchange of necessary and useful things that are conducive to human happiness, at the right time and at the right place.

The object of the whole economic system should be the producing and securing the true wealth of human happiness, his concept of true wealth being a true man; the symbolical man of the spinning wheel and khadi.

He further believes that no economic policy is possible in a country where society is split up into a number of parties, landlords, tenants, employers, workers, princes, peasants, and the rest who with God on their lips and knife in their hands, like consummate hypocrites and cut-throats are crazy to kill one another and then like a philosophic

wiseacres cry 'What man does to man.'

His scheme of national education has for its basic principles the co-ordination of letters with craft and draftsmanship, physical development, mental and moral culture, nationalism, and musical aesthetics.

He has given political reform the most exalted place in the scheme of national reformation and renaissance. It is his life's most cherished and sacred work which he has been pursuing with the most pious hope and the object of liberating his country from the foreign yoke. To this end he worships at the shrine of the Hindu-Muslim unity, prays in the mood of toleration at the altar of creeds and communities for cohesion and to be united into one nation and one national faith for turning Jails into Temples in devotion to national deliverance.

THE RELIGIONIST.

If Mahatma, the reformer, is the offspring of an inner-urge of will Mahatma, the religionist, can be rightly termed as the product of his environment.

It was Rambha, his nurse, who inculcated in the child the spirit of religion and initiated him into a blind religious faith. It was the successful and forceful effectiveness of the incantation of the name of the Hero of the 'Ramayana' which he used to chant every night before going to bed to driver away the hobgoblins that haunted him like a nightmare, that the youth was confirmed into a deep-seated belief in God.

Moreover, it was, under the personal influence of his parents, who were orthodox Hindus of the Vashnavite sect, and the friends of the family who were mostly the Jain monks and the Parsi and the

Muslim religious friends of his father, that religion was dinned ever and anon into the ears of the little religionist.

It was, further, the dramatic effect of two Indian stage-plays, Satya Harish Chandra and Shrivan Kumar that influenced the impressionable mind of the youth with the ideal of truth and the force of filial affection with no little religiousness.

Before he went to England religion was a mere matter of faith with him. It was in England that he gave religion his first thought and made it his serious study.

It was in the company of two English theosophist friends who brought him in contact with the philosophy of the Hindu-religion through the study of the 'Eternal Song', the English version of the Bhagwata Gita by Sir Edwin Arnold. Since then he has made its thorough study and regards

it as the greatest and the most sublime book he has ever read in his life.The Bhagwada Gita is his spiritual *vade-mecum* that gives him hope in his moments of despair and fills him with courage in his moods of dejection.

Although, the study of religion had captured his mind in England, yet it failed to give him satisfaction or conviction. It placed him in a state of mind that wavered him between belief and non-belief.

It was in the society of his Christian friends in South Africa that he had the benefit and privilege of making a comparative study of religions, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Zorastrianism, Hinduism and the rest.

It was finally at the suggestion of Rai Chand Bhai, whom the Mahatma regarded with a respect due to a preceptor, that he was convinced and

confirmed into the truths of the philosophy of the Hindu-religon.

Although all religions have impressed him with their greatness and that of their prophets yet he sticks to the truth of the religion of his birth that provides him with a new food for his spiritual thought to make his life richer and more sublime from day-to-day.

Religion is the corner-stone of his life. He is nothing, if he is not religious. He is religious in all what he does and what he does is all his religion.

Religion is a science and an art with him that provide him with infinite possibilities for the spiritual expansion of his soul.

He is a practical religionist and believes that an impractical religion is as good as dead-alive.

His religion is the eternal religion of the Vedas and has for its basic principles the Eternity of Truth

and an ancillary doctrine of Ahimsa for its ethics.

The object of his religion is the attainment of the truth of existence through the practice of *Ahimsa* in all its three aspects of word, deed, and thought.

He believes that non-violence is only attainable by man when he goes through its rigid course and discipline that has been given a new-technique the true import of which can be understood and felt by a soft heart, a desirous mind, and a sympathetic soul.

Finally, he is the religionist who believes in the only truth of all existence which is God who again, to his conception, is Truth, Consciousness and Bliss.

THE MORALIST.

If Mahatma, the religionist, can be called a scientist, Mahatma, the moralist, can be described as an artist.

When we call Mahatma Gandhi an artist we do not mean to say that he has the powers to carve, draw, paint, compose, and sing, but we use the word in the widest and the most extensive sense.

To our mind the art of an artist does not lie merely in the expression of an idea of beauty in lines and colorful forms but also in the appreciation of all that is beautiful in nature and life. We further believe that it needs the exercise of more and better talent for the appreciation of art and beauty than their formal expression.

Although, the Mahatma is neither a poet or painter, nor an artichect or a sculptor, nor a composer

or a musician, yet he has the powers of both the creative and critical artist in other walks of life that need the display of aesthetic sense, taste, and culture.

He is a genius as a literary man. His contributions to the Gujrati and the English literatures are a strong testimony to his talents as a creative literary-artist.

His style in both the languages is one of an ardent and master-artist who can show his art with unaffected beauty and unadorned simplicity.

He has so personified literature that it has come to bear the stamp of his personality that expresses itself in the lively action of his fertile imagination, effective expression, and forceful exhibition.

He is a worshipper of nature and the artist of her beautiful life. His mind can penetrate into its inner-most beauty and mystery. His contact

with the beautiful phenomena of nature puts his soul in communion with the spirit of nature in which he can find the same human pulsation of life as runs through all natural objects and feel for them with the same touch of human sympathy with which he does his fellow-men. He can feel for birds, beasts, and trees in the same feelingful strain as in the case of men.

He is a lover of music, and music has helped him to make a conquest over passions. He has given music a religious significance in as mush as it can stir his mind and soul into spiritual ecstacy. His conception of music is the elixir of life that can give longevity and expansion to the life and soul of a man. Further, music to him is not so much a matter of mind as of heart that alone can feel its vibrations.

Love of Nature and devotion to God, according

to his belief, is a great art of human life. Further, he believes that life in itself is the greatest of all arts and one who can live it well is the most skilful of all artists.

He is an artist of life. He sees art, beauty, and truth in all life that exists. He can moralise and philosophise on life and live it up to its morality, its beauty, and its truth.

In short, life has been a beautiful art and a beautiful truth with him.

His life all along has been occupied with the serious purpose to know it well and to live it well. He has known it well to make it an art and live it upto an uncommon measure which can hardly be measured by the common yard-stick, his life passing beyond its capacity.

He is an artist who neither believes in art for art's sake nor in its romanticism, nor its surrealism.

He believes in an art that has a moral purpose for the expression of human life, its inspiration, and its spiritual expansion.

He is the moralist whose morality has a beautiful simplicity, natural humility, and a rigid technique, a strict adherance to which gives the moralist an aesthetic pliability and flexibility which is highly infectious and uncommonly inspiring.

THE PHILOSOPHER.

If Mahatma Gandhi is a real representative of the religions truth and a moral manifestation of non-violence he is also a divine revelation and a revealer of the mystery of life.

He is a philosopher who has solved the riddle of the universe. He has a philosophy that has simplified universal knowledge and reads like a revealed book which can be translated into human action for social, moral, political, religious; and spiritual well-being and emancipation of man from all kinds of bondage of earthly existence.

He is a philosopher of nature who has delved deep into it to find its real truth. He has successfully lifted the veil of its superficial gloss and glamour and barefaced its unreality.

He is the divine poet who can read 'sermons in stones and books in the running brooks.'

THE PHILOSOPHER

He is the philosopher who has shaken off the shackles which man puts on man by the presentation of an attitude of indifference to life and detachment. from its uncanny attractions.

He is the philosopher who sings of the immortality of man and has a message of peace and good-will for the deliverance of humanity from the tyranny of malefactors.

He is the philosopher who has given his name to the Recording-Angel for writing him down as the servant of God whose life is dedicated to the service of his fellowmen.

He is the stoic philosopher of the tub who can ask the Greek world-conquerer to let him alone and bask in the sun.

He is the philosopher who has suspended himself to swing in the air in the basket of truth and non-violence.

He is the philosopher who can take hemlock for a noble cause.

He is the philosopher and the Messiah who can subject himself to crucifixion for love of humanity.

He is the philosopher and the Lord who found wisdom under the Banyan-tree and preached of love, mercy, peace, and truth.

He is the philosopher who feels and thinks with the poet Goethe that 'There is no wisdom save in Truth'.

PHILOSOPHY.

In order to understand the Mahatma it needs us to know his philosophy.

His philosophy is the philosophy of truth. The truth of his philosophy is the truth of his life which is also the truth of man, the truth of nature, and the truth of God.

In short to know his philisophy is not only to know the Mahatma but also to know the Divine Truth.

The quintessence of his philosophy consists in his deep-seated belief in a living and conscious principle that pervades the entire universe and permeates all animate life and inanimate objects.

His conception of this living principle is a divine concept which finds its full expression in the brevity of a single word God.

God according to his belief is the only truth and reality amidst the falsity and multiplicity of the formal existence of the universe.

Again, God is believed by him to be an abstract Being, a unitary abstraction of the substantiality concealed beneath the surface of the unreality of the names and forms of universal objects which bear the same relation to the truth of the Divine-stuff as shadow does to the substance.

His belief of truth derives its moral support from his tripartite doctrine of *Ahimsa*—non-violence in word, deed, and thought—which is reflected through almost all the acts and events of his life that has been spent in search of and experiments with truth, the practice of *Ahimsa* with a religious care, a persistent sense of moral rigidity, and an impilicit faith in God and His providence.

His conception of God is a universal entity, an absolute unity of an eternal and infinite character,

and a qualitative idea of Truth, Consciousness, and Bliss. God, the absolute, is an inexplicable power beyond human calculation and comprehension. He cannot be described something like mathematical precision and exactitude. He can be neither said to be this nor that. He is the being who cannot be known but whose presence can be felt.

God may, however, be likened to a potential sovereign who sways the entire universe and humanity with his sovereignty in accordance with the Divine law of his Nature for the physical, moral and spiritual government of all existence and humanity.

The universe is like a big hoax and an illusion of the human mind. It is created in accordance with the infallible, law of Nature. In other words the universe is God's own creation and is created by the conscious and magical trickery of the Great Conjurer in co-ordination with the inexorable law of

His Conjuress, the Dame Nature who has no other existence than God's own to make Him both the law and the law-giver Himself.

Further the whole universe can be likened to a sea of waves, the unreality of the waves depending upon its water for appearance of their reality.

The sense of the unreality of the universe can come to men only through a belief in the reality and the truth of God and a rigid course of moral conduct in a man's life-time.

The man himself is a universe in miniature possessing the spiritual element of God and the material elements of Nature.

Thus it can be said in brief that the reality of man, the reality of universe and the reality of God are identical and God-realisation is only possible to man when he can realise and feel his sameness with God and his truth

within the purity of his mind and heart made pure by the constant practice of Truth and *Ahimsa*, the two radical principles of the Mahatma's Religion.

If Truth to the Mahatma is an axiom and a postulate, *Ahimsa* to him is its corollary.

RELIGION.

A firm belief in God is the Mahatma's religion and it finds its full expression and definition in almost all the actions of his life.

As definitions are always difficult to make it is hard to define religion.

An attempt, however, is made to define religion which can be defined as the science and art which leads to the manifestation of God in man.

The one main principle of his religion is Truth which is the Truth of God.

To him God's another name is Truth rather Truth is God.

He further believes wherever there is truth their is knowledge, and wherever there is knowledge, there is bliss. It is, therefore, that God is qualified to be defined as, Truth, Consciousness and Bliss.

Whosoever comprehends the truth of God as above there remains nothing in the world for him to know. Moreover, as truth is a living and conscious principle, to know truth is to live in a blissful state of knowledge of the Divine-truth.

Then comes the vital question of the realisation of this Divine-truth.

According to the belief of the Mahatma, God can be attained through the practice of truth, renunciation and divine devotion.

A devotee who is the seeker of truth, we see again, is beset with the difficulty as to the criterion of truth to distinguish it from its different beliefs.

The seeker of truth says the Mahatma should not be perturbed by the want of a crucial test. He assures us where there is some effort the different truths will begin to appear like the innumerable leaves

of a tree that appear to be different from each other but are of one and the same tree. Although God may appear to be different to different persons yet we know and all of us say that He is one.

To the Mahatma truth alone is God. One may, then, according to his belief and assurance, practice what appears to one to be true and so regulate his life that he may realise that truth. Such action alone is the true conduct of life.

However, if there is some mistake in the performance of an action in search of truth, the mistake shall correct itself. As in search after truth there is true worship and true worship entails self-effacement and self-lessness a truthful action as such is, therefore, selfless. Such a selfless search always leads to a true path. A little deviation from truth shall come under immediate detection and the traveller on the path of truth shall once again begin to take to the true tread.

In short the Mahatma believes that worship of truth is devotion and devotion to truth is the divine path which brooks no cowardice and knows no defeat and the practice of truth, in word, deed and thought is the divine secret to bring the dead to life.

He respects all religions and follows his own with no little rigidity.

It can be, however, assured that there is no other religion more pithy than the religion of truth of the worshipful Mahatma..

ETHICS.

If Mahatma has truth as the basic principle of his religion, he has *Ahimsa* for its ethics to be the hand-maid of his religion.

The path of Ahimsa like the path of truth is both straight and narrow; and a false step or deviation from it raises a cry of conscience within the heart of the walker who once again begins to take to it as truly as before.

A seeker of Truth and *Ahimsa* need not go out in search of them. A man can seek Truth and *Ahimsa* within him and not without.

Ahimsa is the means to an end. It is the most sublime of all religious ethics. If we concentrate on the means the end will be achieved in the long run of itself.

Brahmcharya that is abstinence from sexuality is another great factor that goes a long way in the

realisation of truth. Sexual indulgance under the creed of *Ahimsa* is permissible only for reproduction.

Abstemious diet and tastelessness are two other injunctions. Good food according to him is that food only which can be cooked by the heat of the Sun. He also believes that Man by nature is a vegetarian.

Simplicity of life is another essential feature of the creed of *Ahimsa* which lays down that the needs of life should be brought down to the lowest possible minimum.

Humility also should be the natural trait of the character of the votary of *Ahimsa*.

Observance of fast and silence are conducive to conservation of human-energy and resistance. Self-control and self-examination are other necessary factors that tend to the mental, moral and spiritual development of man.

Confession, in expiation of a mistake or sin, is his moral purge for self-purification.

The new technique of *Ahimsa* forbids the use of coercion on the part of the votary of the creed towards his opponent. It is also conditioned by a change of heart and the creation of a peaceful environment for a happy and humane contact.

SATYAGRAH.

Satyagrah is the most effective weapon of Mahatma Gandhi's armoury for effective mass action.

It is a substitute for rebellion or war against a State or constituted authority. It is the subtitute for the constitutional method, the cult of the bomb, and the political conspiracies that fail against Governments that are fully equipped with armaments of modern warfare.

It is replacement for constitutional agitation and implies for its enforcement an environment of civilised and flexible system of democratic government that admits within it elements of national growth and expansion by methods provided in the constitution for social reform and political progress.

Satyagrah is opposed to terrorism which is effective only against a disorganised State or an autocratic monarch. It stands in opposition to conspiracy-method which fails to create a mass rebellion.

Terrorism or conspiracy is the outcome of the exasperated desperation of a few patriotic desperadoes who, in the absence of any other means of effective forcefulness, believe that political martyrdom and the blood of patriots will be helpful to regeneration. Unlike terrorism, conspiracy, and the cult of bomb, Satyagrah is a direct and revolutionary action with a mass appeal and sanctions behind it.

Satyagrah unlike terrorism is also non-mutinous and extensive.

Like the constitutional method Satyagrah is peaceful and non-violent and like a rebellion it is peacefully organised and carried out under exemplary discipline.

Further, it is founded on the belief and principle that a foreign rule needs for its existence the co-operation of the ruled.

It also insists with the change of method, upon a change of heart and mentality of the opponent.

Satyagrah is not a war against a person or an individual but against an unconstitutional government in the absence of peaceful methods for the redress of social wrong and political injustice as opposed to private grudge or grievance.

If *Ahimsa*, as has been explained, forbids taking of life, and insists upon having a peaceful attitude of mind, and unharmful tongue. Its new-technique prohibits taking the opponents at a disadvantage and refuses to use coercion and force for the gaining of an object against the wishes of the adversary.

It is also conditioned by the creation of a peaceful atmosphere and a change of heart on the part of the antagonist for turning his animosity into a soft sympathetic frame of mind towards the votary of *Ahimsa*.

The new-technique of *Ahimsa* implies a moving heart that can melt even the heart of stone with its soft delicacy.

An attempt is here made to versify the new-technique in the following poem:—

"THE NEW-TECHNIQUE OF AHIMSA."

I have seen many a weather,
The changes of the sky,
I have met friends together,
With foes to give them lie.

I have seen a love-knot tatter,
So sore on the thigh,
That it made the twitter,
That love is not to be-lie.

I have seen a heart's shatter,
To pieces, give the sigh,
That moved the hard alabaster.
For prayers on to High.

Consul.

CRITICISM.

From time to time criticism has flowed from the press and platform, both local and foreign, against the ideology of the Mahatma.

We think we are not wrong in the postulation of the principle that, if the spirit of criticism is to provide a touch-stone for appraisal of the true worth of a person, an idea, or a measure, criticism to be true and healthy should keep within the pale of facts and rationality and conform to the canons of logic and rules of convention.

Unfortunately there has, of late, grown a tendency in national and international political circles to indulge in mud-flings against the Mahatma in a spirit of political rivalry, sneakish snobbery, and malicious propaganda that seem to work on the principle that ridicule is the first step in sapping the foundations of belief.

On the contrary our belief is that littleness, whenever and wherever it shows itself, betrays the meanness of the person from whom it proceeds and can have little effect on those who are great far less on the Mahatma who like an alchemist is possessed with powers that can transmute the base metal of his scurrilous revilers into the gold of goodness.

The implications of his adverse criticism shorn of its indecent phraseology and in its stripped nakedness tantamount to the misgivings of his critics that his political policy with the paradoxical and impractical nature of its technique is ineffective and reactionary; that his leadership being both tardy and retardy in character is detrimental to the achievement of national freedom; and that the element of religious rigidity in political matters, is an obnoxious obtrusion that points to the unsoundness of his statesmanship.

Our sense of security in his personal immunity from the contagion of vicious criticism should not, however, make us oblivious to the dissemination of the germs of political disease that threaten nipping in the bud the growth of our national constitution that has begun to show signs of vigour and vitality with the growing freedom and killing ultimately the cause of the independence of the country.

Notwithstanding the vile nature of the criticism expressed in the vituperative slogans of the political factions and the canard of the press, the great personage, like a rock that withstands the onslaughts of the inclement wind and weather, stands unshaken in his faith, unshrivelled in his charity, and unshrunk in his hopes that look up to Heaven for the fulfilment of the mission of his life.

Our line of his defence is neither to indulge in the discoursive or discursive arguments nor to enter

into controversy against the false allegations of his critics but without joining issue, is to hold upto them the mirror of truth for the reflection of the irrefutable facts of the history of his political career.

His political theory of non-violence and method of Satyagrah was pursued with some success in the Indian political agitation in South Africa. It resulted in the removal of £3-tax on Indian emigrants to that country and the abolition of the Indian Indenture-labour for good. These are well-known facts of history which the critics can hardly contradict. When the same policy and method was put to a greater action and on a larger scale in India it proved to be a bolder and more successful experiment in bringing the motherland through progressive stage of Indian constitutional reform, the Provincial-autonomy, the Congress-ministries, and the proposed Indian-federation which in pursuance of

the above policy and method can be utilised as a base for home-shot to freedom and full Independence.

The absence of some other political policy or constructive programme, than his own which may be of equal calibre and effectiveness, be suggested by any of his political rivals and factions and may meet the general acceptance of the nation, is an argument that should find support to his peaceful policy and hush up into speechless silence those antagonists who are adversely critical of him and his so-called backward and forward policy which has been condemned as reactionary in character and deplored as hopeless when carried to the extreme ideology under the name of the New Technique of *Ahimsa*.

The encomiums of prominent statesmen not only of England but of all the nations of the world who, on the occasion of the plenary session of the Indian

Round Table Conference, vied with one another in their references of cordial appreciation and recognition of his political shrewdness, should give a lie direct to the malicious accusation of his critics about the unsoundness of his statesmanship.

The misgiving that the whole structure of his political creed with the crank of non-violence is a make-shift method that will topple down the whole national edifice in the very process of its making and that his reactionary policy is a weak political subterfuge and a flimsy camouflage against the astute statesmanship of the bureaucrats is amply contradicted by the recent invitation of the Viceroy to the Mahatma on the eve of the precipitation and declaration of the German-Polish war for helping the Empire in the hour of her need, in as much as the invitation is an acknowledgment of his greatness, recognition of the might of his non-violent meekness,

and a justification for the soft effectiveness of his New-technique of *Ahimsa.*

Unlike western-diplomacy his statesmanship has the innocence of a dove, the simplicity of a lamb, and the sanctity of a cow and is rooted in the principle that stands for the freedom of his country and favors the well-being of foreign lands.

His leadership bears the torch of freedom that illumines the path of those lovers of liberty who are ranged within its light that has the radiant focus of good-will and cheer to friends and foes alike. If a few misanthropes, the dissentient moths that live under its light and flap their wings to singe them, in trying to put the light out, and in some cases suffer self-immolation in its incandescence, the fault is their own.

His statesmanship is the best morality of his religion and his religon all along has had for its aim

the apotheosis of statesmanship. When statesmen regard religion as intrusion upon statesmanship they should merit the curse of humanity.

We have yet to see such statesmen as hold the destinies of nations in their hands and can divorce morality, religion and humanity from their statesmanship to foster evil and live in peace.

European History has many a name to give of tyrants like Napolean Bonaparte, Bismark, the Great Regent, William Kaiser., and Nicholas, the Czar. Are not all these the names of evil-doers and homicides that swelled like balloons to be pin-pricked into the emptiness of oblivion and narrowness of the grave?

As true as evil must recoil on its back to perish by sword what sword has gained and virtue in the end prevail, the pur-blind impiety of the diplomats of the world who threaten to head humanity

to destruction, the virtuous statemenship of the Mahatma has brought India to land on to a stage of freedom which is claim enough for him to assert that virtue and truth are their own reward.

Lastly it can, however, be yielded for the satisfaction of the critics that his statesmanship has not the shrewdness of Western-diplomats who have the cunning of a fox, the shady surreptitiousness of a cat, the vision of a hawk, the gluttonous greed of a vulture, the howling rapacity of a wolf that can cut with heartlessness the whole humanity into carcase, muster his pack to feed and feast on it to their fill, and then like a hawker give the howling cry, "Who will buy my nice fresh corpses two a penny ?"

THE REACTIONARY.

Mahatma Gandhi has been made, once again, the target of misguided criticism.

His critics and political rivals are trying in vain to undermine his position, prestige, and popularity with the people by insidious propaganda and nefarious activities under impure slogans and impious platitudes that show more the smelly-side of the critics themselves than the critics can smell a rat in his personality and character.

His advice to the people of the Native-States for the suspension of Satyagrah, at a time, when the enemy was breaking down under the weight of popular agitation and the forces of Satyagrah were within an ace of victory, has evoked much criticism and provided the malcontents, in British India, with an opportunity to ventilate their malevolence against the Mahatma who, in the narrowness of their vision,

appears to them as an impolitical and unstatesman-like reactionary and is apprehended to lose them their only earthly chance of liberation of the mother country, when Britain is involved in the throes of the European war where the expedient Indian diplomats can look for a silver-lining which the great Mahatma refuses, in a spirit of non-violent chivalry, to see and catch the enemy tripping.

The critics are, further, out to up-braid him for his suggestion to the A. I. W. C. C. for giving unconditional help to the Empire in the hour of her need when the dictatorial militarism in Europe is striking at the root of democracies of the world.

Now unexpected as the decision with regard to the Native-States was, it should not come as a new surprise to the people who have been critical of him and especially to those who know how sudden changes come over the Mahatma, as if by instinct.

In order to make a correct estimation of his decision the critics are advised to acquaint themselves with the reasons and put themselves in his mood of approach to the suspensory advice, the significance of Satyagrah, and the soft subtlety of his New-technique.

By the by, it should be borne in mind that Satyagrah is the outcome of the great personage's soul and that it has come to have a fine technique which his ethereal spirit, from time-to-time. has evolved and is still open to modification in the process of its further evolution.

It can hardly be judged, at its broadest, by narrow nationalism which can only view it superficially.

The decision is the critique of his pure reason and the instinctive sublimation of his quick perception and infallible judgment.

The method of Satyagrah that has emerged from the depths of his soul has now been embellished with logic to elucidate the soundness of the decision. However, his decisions more often require a sort of blind-faith on the part of his protagonists for their acceptance.

The Delhi-decision was preceded by two more such decisions on two different occasions.

The two previous decisions like the third were made in 1922, as a result of the Chauri-Chaura tragedy and in 1934, when he advised Council entry and reserved to himself the responsibility of individual civil disobedience.

The Delhi decision is of no less importance than the previous ones in as much as it has not only taken aback, with its usual suddenness, some of his followers but also created in them feeling of despair, distrust, and even disgust.

He could not, however, but take the decision keeping in view the fact that people in States who were responsible for agitation concealed cowardice beneath their chivalrous exterior.

It is not only the people in States who have been subjected to his criticism but also the British Indian politicians who have had to bear the brunt of his severe reprimand that has libelled them for immorality.

Even the National Congress has not been exempt from his scathing remarks in view of the degeneration and corruption that has crept within its fold and the presence of a few political giants who have opened out their dragon-teeth of violence in direct opposition to his peaceful creed.

It should be sheer mental perversity that can call his Delhi-Decision as reactionary in as much

as it has stayed agitation temporarily and not stopped it for good.

It is a road-side halt that has been called to the march. To use a figure from sport, his so-called reactionarism may be likened to his forceful back-play that has been combined with a grace to his aggressive style of forward-strokes.

Irrespective of the desultory exhibition of political sentimentality of critics we can still see the Mahatma on the onward-march. We can visualise him on the road of peaceful progress through the plains, into the valley of liberty, and on to the submit of the plateau of freedom where he has perched himself to cast a back-glance on the long line of his followers to see a straggler here and a maligner there. Now, he is again astir with a peaceful calm and looks up to the last stage and to the time when he would move the cold hearts of autocrats to yield him

their hand to fly at top-mast the tri-colour National-flag to proclaim the equality of his country with the other Dominions of the Common-wealth to the glory of the British Empire, the soldiarity of his country, and for the protection of the true principles of democracy.

DICTATOR.

It has been maliciously said of Mahatma Gandhi that he forms a trio of dictatorship with the other two great European dictators, Mussolini and Hitler.

To call the Mahatma a dictator of the type of the Italian Deuce and the German Feuhrer is to give the dog a bad name and hang him.

In order to have the idea of a dictator we should carry back our readers to a period of European history that created the Great French Revolution.

The Great Revolution, witnessed on the mournful beat of drum the funeral march of the French Monarchy that was to be followed, in course of time, by that of other monarchical sister States of Europe, till parliamentary institution, the elastic system of representative and democratic government that guards the freedom of the individual, the freedom of conscience, and the freedom of speech, was duly inaugurated and installed in more than one State on the continent.

The interval saw the meteoric career of Napolean the Great who set himself up as the firts Imperial Dictator of France.

He was not, however, the first Dictator of Europe, England had much earlier seen the dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell that proved only a passing phase of English constitutional-history. Monarchy was restored in England immediately after the death of the English Dictator.

The institution of dictatorship can also be traced as far back as the benevolent despotism of the Tyrants of the free city-states of Ancient Greece.

The period of dictatorship of Napolean, the Great is known in history as the "Reign of Terror." It was like the Regime of Bismark, the Rule of Blood and Iron.

The question how long tyranny and despotism can live finds an apt answer in the remark that

autocratic despotism and absolutism cannot survive more than the life-time of the despot and the tyrant.

Napolean's dictatorship, in accordance with the above rule, ended with the battle of Waterloo, his incarceration in the isle of St. Helena, and his death. The Blood and Iron Rule of Bismark lasted up to the life time of the Great Regent. The rule of Cromwell ended with his death.

The same fate may be said to await the present-day Dictators of Europe.

The interim period between the Great Revolution and the Great European war of 1914 was the period of seed and growth of social democracies all over the world.

The aftermath of the Great war was a period of international economic depression which in a little more than a decade's time was got over by the strenuous efforts of the "Leauge of Nations."

Hardly this International Court of Justice had whittled down war reparations to sums easily payable, made territorial adjustments, redeemed nine Nations, freed eighty-million people from foreign domination, and given a few dependent States a basis of equality and scarcely the statesmen of the world had begun to look to a world-comity of nations, a Federation of peoples in which international law should be respected and war should be no more, out of the degeneracy of social democracies there emerged the Fascist State of Italy and the Nazi German Empire under the headship of two great dictators, the Deuce of Italy and Feuhrer of Germany who have sacrificed ideals of justice, freedom, and mercy for the law of jungle and the relentless lawlessness of assassins and murderers.

Social democracy was bound to fail as it suffered from decay and showed signs of degeneration

that had crept in the form of class competition of "Capitalism and Labour", and the Plutocracy of capital that has the principle of exploitation of labour and working classes to cause unbalanced economic conditions and inequal distribution of wealth.

The two great dictators, with their swash-buckling bullyism and with a sense of optimistic security in the might of their formidable armaments, administering threats, have now forced war on the peaceful nations of the world, which is becoming a tremendous menace to the world-peace.

Hitler and Mussolini are two great Mono-maniacs who have a mono-mania af tremendous magnitude for war. War to them is their inevitable idealism and the only means for the satisfaction of their ambition of a world Imperialism.

Their policy is consummate villainy and their genius lies in gigantic-bluffs that serve them as

covers to their hypocricy and levers to cause a crash of the world unawares.

On the other hand, their great Indian contemporary who does not even belong to any political organisation in this country—it is an uncontradictable fact that he is not even a four-anna member of the Indian National Congress—is a veritable humanitarian who bears in his both hands the burning candles of peaceful light in which not only the people of his country but the whole human race can read his message of truth and non-violence

To call the sage of Segaon a triumvir and place him alongside Mussolini and Hitler is to idolise him with the two western iconoclasts whose fierce hearts are burning with the passion to desecrate the temple of humanity. The fact that Indian politicians and statesmen, ministers and congressmen rush to him for guidance at the time of some national or inter-

national crisis is a strong proof in his favor that, if he is a dictator at all, his dictatorship is based on the whole-hearted good-will of his nation and his autocratic dictation, if it is such at all, proceed as it does from the depths of his truthful soul is invariably a peaceful message of truth and good-will to humanity. Now, in all fairness, it may be urged upon his critics that unlike the Western Imperialists and Dictators his Imperialism or Dictatorship—if it can be rightly termed as such—is based on the rock-bottom of truth and non-violence contrary to the warring violence of brute force, characteristic of the bellicose-jingoism of his contemporaries.

The aim of his Imperialism is not the exploitation of White-papers. The object of his dictatorship is not the extension of autocratic control over colonies but spiritual control over human heart

and mind. His conquest is a conquest of human passions and not the conquest of Abyssinia or Czechoslovakia. He believes in a persecution which is self-persecution and not the persecution of Jews. His might is not the might of armaments, but the might of rightful truth.

His Imperialism has the spiritual majesty of an Indian ascetic with a loin cloth, unlike the militant Imperialism and the martial panoply of Hitler and Mussolini.

His policy has been uniformly one of pacifism. If Hitler and Mussolini are fightists the Mahatma is a quietist and a pacifist. This makes all the world of difference between the Western dictators and the peaceful Indian sage whom the critics, if they would, may call, for distinction, the Divine Dictator of India.

THE PACIFIST.

We are sure we are not using a misnomer, when we call Mahatma Gandhi a pacifist. It is, rather, our conscious belief that the word could not be used with more appropriateness than in his case.

A pacifist is the greatest need of the hour looking to the time of darkness and difficulty with its storms of bitterness, hatred, and violence and the catastrophe of a world-war looming large over the head of nations and confronting mankind.

The destinies of nations are so closely knit together to-day that our fears are not unfounded, lest the fire that started in the Pacific crossing over to the Atlantic and igniting the fuse in the Baltic, should set aflame the whole of Europe into a big blaze and the entire world into a huge conflagration.

Rather, now, our fears are so genuine that we are driven to the fatalistic belief that the inherent

human vice conspiring with the viciousness of nature may not cause the stampede of the world-polity to throw it into a state of chaos and confusion.

Politicians and statesmen of the world have realised the darkness of the situation and are straining every nerve to prevent the mad-march of mankind from turning the whole humanity into a Mad-House or the Pandemonium of Hell.

It is a matter for speculation if pacifists like Messrs. Chamberlain, Roosevelt, and Mahatma Gandhi shall be able to stem the flood of racial persecution, of the suppression of religious, moral, social, and political freedom of nations, of subject or sovereign States, and the rising tide of war before it overflows its banks into a world-deluge.

So far all the entreaties and appeals of the pacifists to the miscreants have been lost upon deaf-ears to involve Europe into war and put

the whole human race into a state of nervous tension.

Now, when the war has started in Europe, there is a general cry for peace from the world and the desire for peace was never more intense than it is to-day.

It seems that modern-civilisation has failed to give it and stands bankrupt. It was bound to do so, as the true condition of peace is not to be sought in the avoidance of war but in the total discontinuance of the inhuman institution of war as a weapon for making territorial conquests, finding inter-national markets for economic gains and advantages, and serving as means of settling national or international disputes, or for any other end. 'Does not history tells us eloquently that power, wealth and rich possessions individually or nationally owned can never give their owners or neighbours peace?'

It is high-time that the world should learn the lesson from history to make war a thing of the past and subordinate power and wealth to peace and happiness.

We were, in the past, beguiled into the belief that thc last Great war was fought to end war, but what we find to-day is that it was waged to end peace and to be the beginning of a greater rather the greatest world-war which the historian of the future shall have to record as the blackest war, in which there shall be no victors or vanquished, but all losers.

Is then there no way of escape from the tragic tension, the dreadful crisis and the fearful consternation of the World war into a peaceful relief and a permanent state of Universal-peace?

Let us, however, not despair in the belief that there is a remedy for every ill.

We should put our faith in the great Indian-pacifist and his creed of Truth and *Ahimsa*.

Peace, such we know and as preached by the Mahatma comes from within and not without. To have peace we must know and realise truth. Truth does not sit on the surface but lies in the bottom of a sea. To get at the beautiful pearls of peace and truth that lie in the bed concealed beneath the superficial ruffle of waves of the ocean of life we have to dive deep into the depth of its waters.

The great Indian-pacifist has, in no small measure, helped to know and realise truth to solve the problem of the world-peace.

His philosophy of Truth and *Ahimsa* is not a figment of fancy or phantasm of fanciful imagination. It is neither idealism nor mysticism; but rather it is his idealistic realism. It is an appeal

from experiment and experience to reason and practical faculties of those who are trained in the modern methods of scientific reasoning and schooled in the cultural ways of humanitarianism.

The Gandhian creed of Truth and *Ahimsa* is a panacea for all kinds of human ills and misery and as such it should not be making too bold a claim for its adoption as the creed of all mankind for the attainment of Universal-peace.

The creed of our pacifist to be the pet of all and the bug-bear of few is simple, pithy, and a reasoned faith of conviction. The Gandhian creed based it is on truth and the truth of his creed is an absolute unity, there cannot be more than one creed of truth.

Amidst the multiplicity of warring beliefs and the diversity of conflicting ideas of truth, the truth of his creed is too obvious yet too obscure.

The explanation of the above paradox may be sought in the oscillation of men between belief and disbelief of truth and their attitude of both knowledge and ignorance all at once about the truth of God.

The possibility of world-peace mostly depends on the cultural mentality of mankind which should have for its common criterion the love of Truth and *Áhimsa.*

The aim of all philosophic and scientific knowledge throughout all ages and all climes has been the attainment of truth by reducing a number of phenomena into a single principle. The world knowledge has thus directly or indirectly contributed to the enlightenment of the path leading to the knowledge of truth about the Oneness of God.

The crusading elements of sects and creeds which warrant in the name of peace and humanity the free play of hatred and violence by

letting loose the dogs of war, are the dark spots of human history, that run counter to the establishment of a common-wealth of peace and tranquility and falsify the fulfilment of the promise of the happy millenium on Earth and the bliss of Heaven.

This immodest impudence of mankind and the deliberate assertion of belief and its negation in action gives a lie direct to a true knowledge. As such, it should be regarded as a crime in rationality and a slur upon the honest name of humanity, if the unwarranted paradox of peaceful belief and homicidal action is allowed to go unchallenged and unopposed in future.

We do not, however, mean to challenge the honest purpose of the political system of Guaranties and Alliances, Isolationism or Neutrality, the System of Collective Security of a League of Nations or a World-Federation of democracies

and the conundrum about the prepared plans against aggression by every one of its members against all in the scheme of national or international peace, but what we want to contradict is their political-utility and practical significance as indipensable factors of Universal-peace.

Construction and not destruction should be the primary condition of a true creed.

It is no creed that breeds bondage and brings death and destruction. A true creed fosters truth and freedom.

It is a queer irony that truth is at a discount with the political world that deals a death blow to the creed of Truth and *Ahimsa* with violence that, in its own turn, drives an additional nail into its coffin to give truth and peace a permanent grave.

In short, amidst the triumph of hatred, violence, and degeneration the great Indian pacifist stands

alone a class by himself with an over-riding faith in his creed of Truth and *Ahimsa* with a full conviction that it is not God or His Godness that shall forsake humanity in the hour of its dreadful crisis when violence and death have widened their mouth to swallow peace, love, life, and liberty.

His message to the nations of the world is that out of the past has come much knowledge but little understanding. Much more knowledge will come with new experience and more wisdom with better days, when sword has perished what sword has gained and when the storm of lies, bitterness, hatred and violence have been drowned in the oblivion of death to give birth to a new generation that shall stand united in a better civilisation and confirmed in the creed of Truth and *Ahimsa*

GENERAL VIEWS.

Art and Beauty.—Art is generally defined as the formal expression of Beauty, but its Gandhian idea may be described as the true expression of human soul and the translation of the inner-urge and unrest in the soul of the artist with an upward bias to help his soul onward towards self-realisation.

The art of an artist, according to the Mahatma's mind, lies in the vision of beauty in truth. To him formal beauty without truth is like a painted doll without life.

Romanticism in art, if it is expressed truly to point to Heaven and to God, is a rare art and that its romantic fiction can co-exist with the truth of his artistic realism, the true art of living a true life.

To give a person or idea or phenomenon morality is his idea of artistic beauty.

It is the beautiful art of virtue that can give even ugliness a moral beauty; the true romance of art lies in the concealment of formal ugliness with inward virtue.

It is the art of morality alone that can turn the ugly duckling into a swan.

To live a moral life is a beautiful art and a beautiful truth with him; and the artist who can visualise truth and express it truly is the truest of all artists. Art without a moral purpose is the demoralisation of it.

Marriage.—Matrimony that stands as an obstacle to mar the realisation of truth is his idea of marriage.

The marriage that like mistletoe is a license for making marital life a constant Christmas for kisses is impertinence to God and an impediment to human salvation.

The marriage that can make a matrimonial identity of one plus one equal to three is permitted under his creed only for procreation.

A life of celibacy or self-control has his preference to a married life or a life of sexual matrimony.

The objections of racial extinction and persecution of sexual instinct resulting from celibacy or self-control are ruled out by the Mahatma on the grounds of the Divine-law of inorganic creation that precedes organic reproduction like the absolute and original advent of Adam and Eve and the Nativity of Christ begotten of the Holy Virgin and the blissful life that results from self control.

The belief in the immortality and transference of human soul to a higher plane for communion and final merger into the Universal-spirit should

be mightily convincing argument against the flimsy exceptions born of human puerility.

Dowry.—It is an extra-bargain of matrimony which a bride-groom fetches home in addition to his bride. It is the sale-price that the bride-groom puts on himself to make himself a bond-slave to a custom of inhuman barbarity.

A bride-groom who weds his bride on the Dowry-system puts himself at a discount in the eyes of the bride's people. He is a disgrace to his education, a discredit to society, and a dishonor to whole womanhood.

Literature.—It means to him the portraiture of rural life, the real-life of the country with speaking simplicity to ennoble hearts and minds of men, and to inspire their souls with higher emotions and greater passions for a happy sublimation of social, moral, and cultural aims of life.

Prayer.—To the Mahatma prayer is like a whip on the back of human soul to stir it into spiritual activity.

Prayer as petition or for inward communion, like television, can transport human soul to the divine plane and into a state of blissful ecstasy.

In short prayer can perform what reason cannot do. It can work the divine miracle which human mind cannot know but heart can feel.

Education.—His idea of education is the physical, mental, and moral development of man ; and a harmonius combination of them is his true economics of Education.

The Wardha scheme of National Education as sponsored by him is an elaboration of his ideas based on his personal experience as a teacher and instructor of children which he has been all along in his personal capacity.

The basic principle which governs the scheme is the co-ordination of education with handi-craft, physical culture, nationalism, drawing, music, and the impartation of all kinds of knowledge through handiwork and the medium of mother-tongue.

He believes in free and compulsory Primary-education which should be the concern of the State.

Higher education, according to his view, should be self-contained and self-supporting and that the State should only pay for higher education wherever it has a definite use for it.

Machinery.—Apropos machinery it can be said that the Mahatma could do better without it as good as man would do well to exist without the machinery of the human body.

However, he believes in the use of a machine like the 'Singer Sewing Machine.'

It is said of this machine that Mr. Singer invented it for the love of Mrs. Singer.

He believes in the use of machinery with an explicit reservation that, if a machine is used for a motive like the love of Mr. Singer for Mrs. Singer and not like a rickshaw to ride over the back of man, it is a wholesome device for a wholesome motive.

The Spinning Wheel.—It is a veritable machine that comes up to the Mahatma's ideal of machinery. It is the machine that provides bread to the hungry millions of his countrymen.

It is not merely a machine that finds food for the poor Indian but a mighty Instrument of National Revolution.

The Khadi.—It is the stuff that is woven into the web of life not to snare but for freedom. It is a snug texture to protect life and to live it.

The widow,—She is a woman intended to be a deity but the maiden-widow is meant to make

a home as the spouse of an Indian youth in her preferential right over a spinster.

Sacrifice.—The idea of sacrifice is not one of exaction but one of inward delectation. It is a misnomer in as much as it receives more than what it gives. 'It is twice blessed it blesseth him that gives and him that takes.' To be at par, sacrifice like truth is its own reward.

The secret of sacrifice is self-effacement for self-realisation.

Service.—His idea of service is rooted in humanism. Service is his life's true passion; it becomes truer with sacrifice. It ever rises higher and higher with more and better sacrifice.

If life is work and work is worship, his life's work has been service to make it Divine.

Self Control.—It is the reign of the divine soul over human sentiment, passion, and animality.

It rises above mental, moral, and physical discipline and makes life a living truth.

Simplicity.—It is the nude charm of a true man and the unadorned face of a fairy.

Humality.—It is with the one wing of simplicity, the other wing of a wise-bird that flies low with an air of instinctive naturalism.

THE REVIEW.

Now that we have seen the Mahatma through all the phases of his life and its activities, it is prayed may Providence extend to him a good lease of life for carrying Truth, *Ahimsa*, and the New-technique to the last limit and for giving his life's work the touch of the final triumph.

We know that the Mahatma is to celebrate his 71st birth-day anniversary on 2nd October, 1939. It is to usher him to the health and happiness of the New-year and with it go our happy wishes for the repetition of the same for a time till he has completed the mission of his life.

As his active past has brought him to his busy present, so his busy present with its briskness should bode well for a happy future.

The peaceful-pilgrim has reached the present stage of his life's pilgrimage, at a time when despite

the preaching of his gospel of *Ahimsa* for over a half-century he finds himself even to-day hemmed in by violence.

Before we deal with the existing violent conditions in the country and the world at large let us for retrospection take a bird's eye-view of the violence of the past.

The past has seen him as a fighter against the forces of violence in the Indian National struggle in South Africa, a peaceful participator in the Great War of 1914, a true warrior who met violence with non-violence in his struggle for national freedom in India,a distant watcher of the Facist violence that laid low Abyssinia, and the silent spectator of Nazi militarism that brought about the quiet crash of Czechoslovakia.

We still see him as the close on-looker of the violent carnage which is being perpetrated by the Japs in his neighbourhood in China, and the

helpless witness of the violence of the Swastika conjointly with the Russian Bear that have cut and carved Poland between them probably to make a morsel of Europe and if possible a maw of the whole mankind.

The whole atmosphere to-day is sur-charged with violence. There is violence here, violence there and nothing but violence everywhere.

As a matter of course India is no exception to the pest of the Universal-violence.

There has been existing in the country the Communal violence that so often expressses in the blood-feuds of communities and the Hindu Muslim riots; there is the Autocratic violence of native Princes against their subjects; there is the Provincial violence, the inevitable evil of Ministerial Office; there is the National violence of thc people who were committed to the creed of non-violence

and over-night proved turn-coats; and to heighten all there is violence even in the camp of the Mahatma's trusted comrades who have sealed the fate of the non-violent creed by setting the last limit to which their non violent attitude could be carried on with a conscience.

The confession of the A. I. W. C. C. in their Wardha Statement, wherein they have admitted their failure to keep up to the standard of non-violence, have declared the national attitude towards War and stipulated with the Imperial Government National Freedom, in a spirit of commercialism, as a price for country's co-operation, defeats the Mahatma's offer of unconditional help consistent with his New-technique of *Ahimsa*.

Not to his dismay, but to his utter surprise the Mahatma to-day finds himself forsaken by friends and abandoned by comrades-in-creed, in a state of forlorn desertion.

The question now arises if his non-violence is played out ? Our unhesitating reply to the question is a prompt and emphatic No. Rather we can definitely assert that his non-violence is as irresistible as ever.

Pinned fast to his faith in Truth and the creed of *Ahimsa* the Mahatma says that violence and war are the surest way to destruction ; that if the world wants to save itself from the catastrophe of a world war it will do well to put faith in God and his creed of non-violence.

Further he has to sound a note of warning to the Congress, the Paramonnt Power, and the Princes in the following analysis of the present situation.

" He is convinced that a non-violent mass movement is now an impossibility unless the atmosphere which is surcharged with violence is

radically changed. He says: "If any mass movement is undertaken at the present moment in the name of non-violence, it will resolve itself into violence, largely unorganised and organised in some cases. It will bring discredit to the Congress."

Gandhiji proceeds: "But if there is an outbreak of violence, it would not be without cause. The responsibility for it will have to be shared by the Paramount Power, the Princes and, above all, by Congressmen."

"But if the Congressmen can or will go no further they have done in the direction of non-violence, and if the Paramount Power and the Princes do not voluntarily and selflessly do the right thing, the country must be prepared for violence, unless the New-technique yields a new mode of non-violent action. The fact that violence must fail will not prevent its outbreak. Mere constitutional agitation will not do."

He has further to plead to the Princes that if the transfer of power from the Princes to the people is to take place without violence, and if the Princes are to live as such, they will have to adopt themselves to the changed circumstances.

In the same vein he asks them further not to underrate the Congress as a force in the country; and the minimum demands in his opinion which ought to be granted by the Princes to the people immediately are full civil liberty, limitation on the privy purse ,an independent and permanent judiciary and the right of appeal to their decisions to Provincial High Courts.

Further he has a message for the Paramount, Power, the Congress, and Princes. "The world is inevitably moving to self-destruction or to a non-violent solution of all its ailments, moral, social, economical and political. The threatend world war

will bring us near the desirable solution if a respectable part of it survives the impending catastrophe. Whoever recognizes that the only escape from the impending fate is a non-violent solution will, therefore, apply it to his own problems, whether they are domestic, communal or any other. Non-violence is a universal law, acting under all circumstances. Disregard of it is the surest way to destruction. It is only a question of time."

The Princes would not solve the riddle by the proposed combination with Girasias, Muslims, Scheduled Classes, and their own subjects who are too cowed down to resist. It is a combination that is bound to break under its own weight. It is a combination against whom ? The Congress which seeks to represent all these, not excluding the Princes themselves ? The Congress will die a natural death when it ceases to be national in every sense of

the term. It has that unbroken tradition for the past fifty years. Whatever transformation it undergoes, it is the only constitution that will succeed British Imperialism whose days as Imperialism are numbered."

Lastly his message to the nation may be summed up that if India wants to be a country of culture and civilization of the ancient sages, a land of peace and plenty, of rural-green and urban-grandeur, of learning and knowledge, of scholars, of scientists, of philosophers, of honest rural-folks, of merchants, commercial magnets, and of 35 crores of men united into one nation she must exorcise the devil of violence from within her and learn that non-violence is mightier than sword and that its peaceful poignancy is sufficient guarantee of her emancipation from foreign domination.

The current march of political world-events, their repercussions acting as they do favourably to

the Indian National Cause, and especially the talks between thc Viceroy and the Mahatma, at Simla for the second time, are believed in political-circlcs as a happy augury for a satisfactory solution of the problem of Indian-freedom.

The Mahatma is moving up and down the Himalayan Heights to bring down the Auto-cratic gods to Delhi to make them fall at the feet of Mother-India to give them Peace and Security in the Freedom of Her New-Home and flnally vindicatc the power of the Divine Doctrines of Truth and *Ahimsa*.

PEN-PORTRAIT.

Mahatama Gandhi is all in one the man, the seer, and the wizard.

Ethereal as man, prescient as seer, and miraculous as wizard as the Mahatma is, he is the ideal of true manhood.

He is *cap-a-pie* a Soldier and a Sage.

As a soldier he carries no other weapons than those of a winning smile and a chivalrous soul.

As a sage he is the whiff of truth and the whip of *Ahimsa*, a waft of humility and a wafer of simplicity that gives him a cool attitude and a calm carriage of warm cordiality.

He is the Time-Spirit as well as the Spirit-Divine.

His lean body carries over his shoulders the weight of wisdom and sustains within his heart and soul the largeness of heroism.

His long arms lend length and strength to his actions ; his thin legs, on which he is up always, give fleetness to his feet for service and sacrifice.

His open face, his broad forehead, his long ears, his large and lustrous eyes, and his toothless jaw, all give him an expression that speaks of his candid veracity, social amiability, his wise prevision, keen foresight, and laconic reserve these are all qualities that claim him character.

In short, as soldier the Mahatma is the Redeemer of his country and as sage the Saviour of the soul of his Nation.

THE END

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